DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 057 420 EA 003 766

AUTHOR	Guruge, Ananda W. P.
TITLE	A Functional Analysis of Educational Administration in Relation to Educational Planning.
INSTITUTION	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, Paris (France). International Inst. for Educational Planning.
REPORT NO	IIEP-FEL-69-2; IIEP-OP-16
PUB DATE	Aug 69
NOTE	277p.
AVAILABLE FROM	UNESCO-DPV, Bureau of Documents and Publications, Place de Fontenoy, 75 Paris 7e (France) (Order No. IIEP/FEL/69.2, $.75)
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.65 HC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS	Administrative Personnel; Administrative Policy; Administrative Principles; Administrative Problems; Administrator Characteristics; *Administrator Role; Citizen Participation; *Educational Administration; *Educational Change; *Educational Planning; Educational Policy; Guidelines; Interpersonal Relationship; *Management; Management Development; Management Systems

ABSTRACT

This study begins with a look at current systems and practices in educational administration in an effort to identify the influence of certain interpersonal relationships on educational planning. Different types of planning organizations are then surveyed to illustrate that methods in and approaches to administration and planning are numerous. A subsequent chapter analyzes the extent to which existing systems and practices interfere with the effective formulation and execution of educational plans. The concluding chapter makes a number of recommendations for professionalizing and reforming educational administration. (Author/RA)

ED057420

IIEP occasional papers

16

A functional analysis of educational administration in relation to educational planning

by Ananda W. P. Gurugé

Unesco: International Institute for Educational Planning

EA 003 766

This paper was presented as a terminal study by the author as part of the IIEP 1968-69 Expert Fellows Programme. Mr. Gurugé is currently serving as a Unesco Expert in the Asian Institute of Educational Planning and Administration, New Delhi.

ED057420

IIEP Occasional Papers No. 16

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A FUNCTIONAL ANALYSIS
OF EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION
IN RELATION TO EDUCATIONAL PLANNING

Ananda W.P. Gurugé

Unesco: International Institute for
Educational Planning

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Printed in France by the
International Institute for Educational Planning
9 rue Eugène-Delacroix, 75 Paris-16e
August 1969

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Preface

This document is the result of a study into administrative and managerial problems one often encounters in educational planning and plan implementation. While much has been done during the last decade to develop special techniques and methodologies applicable to educational planning, the attention paid to administrative aspects of both the formulation and the implementation of plans has been totally inadequate. It is becoming increasingly clear that quantitative, qualitative and administrative factors are so closely interrelated and intertwined as to demand equal and simultaneous attention in every organized effort at educational development. With the constant complaint that many a good educational plan has remained unimplemented due to the fault of administrators, the need to examine and remedy defects in information, organization, work-flow and devolution and delegation of authority and responsibility has become most urgent.

This study commences with a glimpse of existing systems and patterns of educational administration (Chapter 1). The main attempt, here, has been to identify certain inter-personal relationships with the idea of understanding their influence on educational planning. The survey of different types of planning organizations (Chapter II), adopted by countries with diverse political ideologies and administrative traditions was likewise undertaken to illustrate that methods and approaches in both planning and administration can be as numerous and varied as human ingenuity permits. It is in our effort to pin-point factors which interfere with the effective formulation and the efficient execution of educational plans that we observed the degree to which existing systems, patterns and techniques of educational administration had to be drastically modified to ensure not only greater efficiency and effectiveness within the educational system, but also the participation of the society as a whole in the task of determining educational policy (Chapter III). We were thus compelled to make a number of recommendations particularly in relation to the professionalization of educational management and the training of educational executives, for the consideration of those, involved or interested in reforming and modernizing educational administration (Chapter IV).

In such a study, one is tempted to recall a caustic comment made by Alexander King (Director of Scientific Affairs, O.E.C.D.) with regard to science policy and say that the position is no better with regard to overall educational policy: he said,

> 'You cannot have a clear dictated science policy unless it is dictated by God, ... What with the naiveté of the natural scientist, the arrogance of the economist, the ignorance of the politician, and the superiority and complacency of the general bureaucrat, there isn't a hope in hell of getting an integration (of science policy with economic, social, defence and other policies) and this is the situation we're in." (C & E N, January 13, 1969, p.24).

If at all, the position can be worse with education as the participants in the policy-making process are to be drawn from a much wider and diversified circle and fears and suspicions (both real and imaginary) of an entire population have to be assuaged before any innovations and changes are introduced. The task of educational administration has thus assumed an enormous magnitude and should, therefore, receive much closer attention than is evident today from everyone concerned with the development of education for the social, economic and cultural uplift of both nations and individuals.

While acknowledging with gratitude the many ways in which this study was encouraged and facilitated by both Unesco and the International Institute of Educational Planning, we wish to state that opinions expressed herein are not necessarily those of Unesco or IIEP. The Author is personally responsible for them.

The author is deeply indebted to - Dr. Philip H. Coombs (Former Director of IIEP) for suggesting the theme of this study and the valuable advice given at its commencement; Mr. Raymond Poignant (Director IIEP) for the very great interest he took in this work and the permission granted to use unpublished material at his disposal; Mr. Raymond F. Lyons (Director of Training, IIEP) for regular guidance and for reading the manuscript and making many useful suggestions; Mr. J. Bousquet (Director, Educational Planning and Administration, Unesco); Mr. Jack Massee (Department of Educational Planning and Administration, Unesco) and John D. Chesswas (formerly of IIEP and now at Unesco) for their ready assistance on all occasions; Messrs. Victor Onushkin, Charles Berkowitch, Jack Halak, Ta Ngoc Châu, H. Eisele and Mrs. Schwab and others on the staff of IIEP for many acts of kindness which facilitated the Author's work during his pleasant and profitable assignment at the Institute and to Mr. John Hall and his staff for the care and trouble taken to issue this document in its present form.

Ananda W.P. Guruge

Paris, IIEP

Note

Publications consulted in the course of this study are referred to in footnotes. Hence a separate bibliography is not included.

PART I

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. The Subject of Educational Administration

A functional analysis of educational administration should necessarily commence with an examination of the function of education. The complex process by which man transmitted his knowledge and skills, experiences and values from one generation to the next is as old as civilization itself. Just as the urge to communicate one's thoughts and feelings to others led to the invention of language and the arts, the desire to preserve for posterity the organizational achievements of forebears and the need to economize on time and energy in the gradual conquest of nature promoted the development of a conscious activity, which ensured:

(a) the physical, mental and emotional adjustment of the individual to the social unit, in which he is brought up;

(b) the economic viability of the individual and the social unit, and

(c) the preservation of the cultural identity of the social unit.

What began as the responsibility of the smallest social unit, the family, grew in complexity with the evolution of social organizations. The clan, the tribe, the nation and, finally, the entire human race have been drawn into the function of promoting effective means of achieving these ends. The division, localization and specialization of labour and the resulting social, economic and cultural stratification of society, as well as the continuing fusion and admixture of cultures at varying levels of evolution have made the function of achieving those threefold objectives one of the most intricately organized human activities, which is, generally, termed 'education'.

While the techniques and methods adopted by each society varied according to its material and cultural development, the fundamental objectives continue to be the same. The three purposes, mentioned above, still form the substratum of even the most sophisticated statement of educational goals.

An educational administrator considers as his role the administration of the national system of education or a specified part thereof. But what constitutes 'a national system of education'? When we ignore the artificial divisions and boundaries which each society has made for constitutional, political, religious, cultural or operational reasons and look for the diverse organizations and methods adopted to achieve the three fundamental objectives of education, we realize that our definition of 'a national system of education' should be as comprehensive and all-embracing as possible. What comes within the purview of the Ministry of Education or its equivalent in the State machinery constitutes only a part of the national organization for education. What falls outside its sphere of activity is not only substantial but also vitally important. It is, therefore, obligatory for the educational administrator to take stock of the national situation and ensure that every available organization and method is being utilized by him to the optimum efficiency.

To begin with, there are the traditional learning-teaching processes, preserved in varying degrees in different societies. These include:

(a) informal non-vocational learning-teaching processes imposed by family traditions, social values, etiquette, customs, taboos, tribal laws, beliefs and superstitions;

(b) informal vocational training through apprenticeship and progressive participation in hereditary family and community occupations and crafts, governed by 'caste' obligations, guild organizations, etc.;

(c) informal adult education, through community co-operation, political organization, tribal and community councils and religious, cultural and technical propaganda.

The importance of this sector in the national system of education is very great in developing countries where the majority of the people have no access to any other form of education. The social, economic and cultural adjustment of individuals who had never attended school or had dropped out very early is being carried out by these traditional processes only.

In the traditional sector, there is also a formal (though not always structured) section which is developed by religious orders and monastic organizations. Though the emphasis is on the training of priests, monks or such other religious personnel, these establishments serve a national educational purpose in training community leaders and promoters of traditional learning-teaching processes.

The formal structured educational system, which is being universally adopted and with which the Ministry of Education is mainly concerned, evolved in Europe and was either introduced to other parts of the world with European colonization or accepted by the countries as a part of their efforts at modernization. This sector usually comprises:

(a) independent or private schools, established initially by the church or by missionary bodies for evangelical purposes and adapted by other organizations and individuals for national, cultural or commercial purposes. Extended gradually to meet the needs of the evolving modern sector. Restricted, sometimes, by fees to people who could afford to pay and by location to urban communities;

(b) public schools, established initially to supplement religious and missionary schools, mostly as a social service measure of educating economically disadvantaged and rural children; progressively improved to cater for modern needs and extended to satisfy the growing social demand for education;

(c) colleges and universities, evolved from classical seats of higher learning. Established by and financially assisted by religious organizations, professional bodies and governments. Initially concerned with religious, philosophical, legal, medical studies. Progressively extended to include scientific and technological studies. Modernized in varying degrees in different countries to cater for contemporary needs for intellectual leadership in diverse fields;

(d) formal vocational education, imparted initially in ad hoc institutions to train personnel for a particular industry or government department. Extended subsequently to cover a wide variety of technical training at the levels of craftsman, technician and technologist.

The importance attached to this sector is so great that most people do not associate 'education' with any other type of teaching-learning activity.

But for the achievement of the three educational objectives, already discussed, another type of activity has become very important. Referred to as 'non-formal education', in the absence of a better application, it is carried on outside schools and such other purely educational institutions on an ad hoc and unstructured basis. This sector of education consists of:

(a) vocational education through apprenticeship and on-the-job training at the initiative of the private sector in agriculture, industry and commerce, sometimes required, encouraged or assisted by governments;

(b) vocational training given by government technical departments and departments of labour as (i) pre-service or in-service training of their employees, (ii) a measure of facilitating employment or increasing the productivity of self-employed persons and (iii) a means of adjusting imbalances in skilled manpower;

(c) adult literacy, cultural and recreational programmes undertaken both by governments and private organizations, and

(d) youth activities organized for the purpose of mobilizing the young labour force in productive work.

This wide range of activities form the subject of educational administration; and the personnel involved in the process of keeping the different organizations concerned with them running smoothly should, really, be recognized as 'educational administrators', or 'agents of educational administration'.

B. Agents of Educational Administration

Few countries have their national systems of education in the hands of homogeneous bodies of administrators. The rule, rather than the exception, is that a multiplicity of agencies and individuals function as a nation's agents of educational administration. They fall under four categories:

(i) Private agencies, e.g.

- (a) Religious or monastic organizations managing institutions for purely religious training.
- (b) Religious organizations managing traditional institutions partially for religious training and partially for semi-secular cultural purposes.
- (c) Religious organizations managing lay schools, colleges, universities, etc.
- (d) Private organizations or individuals, managing schools, colleges, universities, etc., for both philanthropic and commercial purposes.

(ii) Legally created agencies, e.g.

Autonomous statuary bodies and corporations entrusted, by charter, with the administration of colleges, universities, etc.

(iii) Local government agencies, e.g.

- (a) Local government authorities (e.g. municipalities, village councils) managing schools as a part of their civic functions.
- (b) Local educational authorities (either elected or appointed), responsible specifically for education within an area.

(iv) Central government agencies, namely, federal and state government organizations such as:

(a) Ministry, department or office of education, performing a combination of 'legislative', 'sponsoring', 'supervisory' and 'operational' functions.

(b) Technical departments (e.g. agriculture, land development, co-operation, industrial development) managing special programmes of training.

(c) Labour or employment ministry or department, managing vocational training programmes, employment testing centres, etc.

The personnel, actively engaged in education through these agencies, come from diverse fields of activity. They range from:

(a) prominent public figures (i.e. literary and legal luminaries, successful industrial and business magnates) whose presence in boards of management and control is purely for prestigious purposes, and

(b) distinguished professional men and citizens, whose wide experience is, thus, made use of in education;

to (c) paid employees of different grades and experience and

(d) amateur or beginner politicians who find education a convenient stepping stone to public life.

All of them perform important administrative functions in varying degrees of efficiency. While the promotion of education is their avowed motive for action, each agency is interested in its own limited domain of activity and its attitudes to problems of education are governed mainly by the non-educational objectives which determine their individual existence.

The problem of multiple agents of educational administration is made worse by the absence or inadequacy of 'bridges' and 'linkages' among them to ensure co-ordination of effort and purpose. Historically imposed separations have played a major role in diffusing the human and the material resources available to education. Rivalries among vested interests have led to serious duplication and overlapping as well as to flagrant omissions and lacunae. It is of little importance to trace the origin of these rivalries. Many of them have deep historical roots and stem from long-drawn controversies on such subjects as the separation of the Church and the State and the need to keep education above outside politics. While the political philosophy of a country decided its attitude to the coexistence or otherwise of public and private sectors in education, the insistence on academic autonomy at the level of higher education influenced the organization and administration of universities. In both instances, there has been a greater tendency to discourage co-ordination than to promote it.

Far more significant than these are the problems created by conventions and constitutions. A major difficulty in this field is encountered in the co-ordination of educational efforts between:

(i) Central government agencies and local government or educational authorities, or

(ii) Federal and state governments.

Harking back to the days when the local church and the community exerted the main influences over the education of an individual, the tendency had been to relieve federal and central governments of any direct responsibility or authority in educational policy-making. Once the only means of ensuring co-ordination are, conventionally or constitutionally, removed from the educational scene, the agents of educational administration are left to their own resources and the natural result is to have little or no co-ordination among them, even when they perform the same tasks and seek to achieve the same objectives.

Though there was less reason in the past for either authorities or the general public to worry about the absence or inadequacy of co-ordination in education, the spectacular developments during the last two decades have drawn everyone's attention to this problem sharply. Several factors combined in demanding greater efficiency in educational efforts.

An unprecedented social demand for more and better education arose in practically every country in the world. With a growing awareness of the value of education as a 'social elevator', the cry for equality of educational opportunity became widespread. The rapid phase at which knowledge had begun to increase and the gigantic proportions of this 'knowledge-explosion' made demands on the educational administration, compelling the agencies concerned with it to improve both the content and the methods of instruction. While the growing demand for education highlighted the inadequacy of resources available for education, a new ally was found in the economist who observed a direct and vital link between education and economic development.

The recognition that education can be considered an investment naturally resulted in a search for means by which its benefits and effectiveness are measured against its cost. The consequences of such an approach were many and far-reaching. Besides encouraging an internal assessment of the output of the educational effort, it promoted the use of external criteria such as imbalances in human resource formation in the evaluation of education.

But the most striking demand for efficiency came from another quarter. The creation of several international agencies at the end of the Second World War and the consequent interaction and co-operation among nations necessitated the comparison of both achievements and conditions between nation and nation. The impact of these international comparisons and international technical co-operation, specially when connected closely with foreign aid, on the over-all development of education in the world, has been tremendous. These, more than any other factor, have paved the way to the rapidly developing cult of efficiency in education.

An equally important phenomenon is the gradual, but noticeable, shift in the control of education. The authority which was once exerted by the Church and the State, per se, is being progressively transferred to others, who are more directly affected by developments and changes in the educational process. It was as recently as 1938 that Lord Russell argued that the powers controlling education be extended to include the teacher, the parent and the child, the last, as he pointed out, being 'usually forgotten'.(1) The new aspirants to the role of controlling education represent mutually complementary - though outwardly opposing - interests. The parent's anxiety to ensure that his child enjoys the best opportunities for education and the teacher's concern with his professional security and stability make as much a contribution to the efficiency of educational organization as the student's scepticism whether the education he receives is really what will enable him to achieve his personal ambitions and ideals. The interaction of their particular attitudes has led to a serious search for the real objectives of education and an examination of the means adopted to achieve them. Their advent to the sphere of educational administration posed several problems of organization: How can these new forces be integrated into the machinery already in operation? How can their hopes and aspirations, their likes and dislikes, be incorporated in educational policy? What changes in attitude and what changes in structure are necessary to ensure the optimum satisfaction of their demand for effective participation in education?

It should be abundantly clear that a review of the adequacy and the suitability of existing agents of educational administration is urgently required. Such a review should examine ways and means of involving all interested parties in the process of educational administration, and, in the words of Rene Maheu, Director-General of Unesco,

> "it is not only the administrators, or even the teachers, it is just as much the taught, who also it has at last been recognized, have their word to say - a psychologically, if not always technically, very important word - and it is also the parents, the local communities, the professional and cultural groups, that is to say, in the end, the whole of society. This gives some idea of the magnitude of the task involved in organizing the participation of all."(2)

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(1) Lord Russell: 'Sceptical Essays', Allen and Unwin, 1938, pp.184-191.

(2) Final Report of the International Conference on Educational Planning, Paris, Unesco, 6-14 August 1968, p. 64.

C. Inside Educational Administration

The organization of educational administration as it exists in the majority of nations is of five levels:

(i) Policy-making level
(ii) Executive level
(iii) Intermediate level
(iv) Operation-supervisory level, and
(v) Operational level.

The process of administration is necessarily the organized interaction of these levels for the achievement of the three fundamental educational objectives. The task of the administrator is, therefore, to maintain a dynamic equilibrium within and between these levels and promote constant and effective co-operation among them. But it is no easy task for these levels are not as simple as they appear in the above enumeration. The complexity in them is a problem of both organization and number.

I. Policy-making Level

Policy-making, in its strictest legal sense, is a political function, performed by or in the name of the supreme political authority of the country through such machineries as parliaments, state councils, legislative assemblies and cabinets of ministers. A fine division is, generally, made and maintained between the formation of new policy, requiring fresh legislation or amendments of existing legislation and the interpretation and elaboration of policies within the existing legal framework. While the first is a function of the legislature, the latter is shared between the Cabinet and the Minister, leaving, very often, the responsibility of consulting the Cabinet on any particular issue to the descretion of the Minister. There are no problems or difficulties where one legislature (whether bi-cameral or uni-cameral), one executive body (i.e. Cabinet) and one Minister of Education are involved. The constitution as well as parliamentary conventions would enable them to work in collaboration and carry on the policy-making functions smoothly.

But not all countries have such a simple centralized structure. Federal constitutions have sought to establish more complicated and cumbersome arrangements. With the exception of Canada, which has nothing comparable to a national ministry or office of education, and the U.S.A., where the U.S. Office of Education is anything but a policy-making agency, other federal countries provide for a set of policy-makers at the national level (i.e. the Federal or Union Minister and Ministry of Education) and a set in each state, republic, province or region. The division of authority and responsibility between the national and the state level has not been very satisfactory. The following criticism made in respect of one such country may apply to most of them:

> "The division of control between the central government and the provinces has never worked, since the necessary tolerance and co-operation between them is lacking."(1)

In other cases, the problems are of a different nature. For instance, in Pakistan, Adam Curle observed:

> "Although the Central Government was able to make funds available for education, the provincial governments lacked the administrative machinery to organize and implement the schemes."(2)

Where either historical reasons or strong regional organizations do not present formidable objections, the tendency in recent years has been for the Central Government to assume a greater measure of control and make a firm bid to lay down the national educational policy centrally in spite of the admitted advantages of fostering local initiative through decentralized authority. The argument in favour of this attitude is as follows:

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(1) R.G. MacMillan in Reller and Morphet: 'Comparative Educational Administration', Prentice-Hall Inc., 1964, p. 326.

(2) Adam Curle: 'Planning for Education in Pakistan - A Personal Case Study', Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1966, p. 326.

> "If, however, education is to have an effective role in shaping the new society and furthering the economy, there must, in this age of planning, be from time to time clear guidance and bold leadership from the centre ... For we cannot in these competitive days afford long time-lags in the use of new knowledge, or in meeting new demands ... or in tackling some of the urgent problems of a changing society."(1)

Administrators and constitutional lawyers are engaged today in finding ways and means of overcoming administrative and legal difficulties in transferring to the Federal Government the requisite authority to involve itself in educational policy-making. Even in a country like U.S.A., where the cry against federal government assistance to education was most vocal a decade ago, there is a greater awareness of the need to formulate and implement major educational policies centrally and the number of organizations which participate in this process has not only increased in recent years but their influence is being felt and accepted as important to the over-all educational development of the country. The usual practice of using federal grants in a process of 'bribing and cajoling' state governments to accept some sort of national policy, has been found inadequate for the increasing demands of today, especially because certain important activities in educational development cannot be co-ordinated by means of financial grants alone. In India, for example, a strong section of opinion favours the amendment of the constitution to make educational policy-making a 'concurrent subject', that is a subject over which both the Federal and State Governments have concurrent authority. This view, says J.P. Naik, has been strengthened by:

> "the lack of adequate leadership which is sometimes conspicuous at the state level and frequently noticed distortion of state educational policies under immediately political or parochial pressures."(2)

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(1) W.O. Lester Smith: 'Government of Education', Penguin Books, 1965, p. 108.

(2) J.P. Naik: 'Educational Planning in India', New Delhi, Allied Publishers, 1965, p. 137.

Meanwhile, every available legal argument is utilized to exercise the central authority which is surely, though reluctantly, being accepted by the state governments.

The problem is not only one of obtaining the requisite constitutional and legal authority for the Federal Government but also one of defining the division of authority and responsibility between the federal and the state or provincial level. The latter, in fact, is the more important, for over-centralization can be as conducive to inefficiency as over-decentralization. But the limit beyond which either becomes excessive is a matter decided by many factors in which the geographical distribution of the leaders of thought both in the political and administrative spheres plays a major role. The division of responsibility between federal and state level according to level and type of education (e.g. Brazil where primary education is a local responsibility) may not be a permanent solution, for sooner or later, the Federal Government will find it necessary to make policies directly concerning or affecting the sector not under its control.

Some countries, where the co-operation and co-ordination between federal and state levels of policy-making have been achieved, have a strong political substratum which gives the administrative structure a binding unity. For example, in USSR the Communist Party of the Soviet Union plays such a role:

> "the action of the CPSU in education policy-making does not occur solely at the level of formulation of general policy and plans. At all levels of the school and university administration, relations are established between the official authorities and the national, regional or local bodies of the Party ... One must bear in mind that, alongside the hierarchy of the constitutional organs of the Soviet State, with whom the power of decision rests under the constitution, there exists the parallel organization of the CPSU, whose role is decisive in many respects."(1)

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(1) IIEP: 'Educational Planning in the USSR' (Unesco), 1968, p. 230.

Their effectiveness, of course, depends heavily on the willingness of the Minister or his equivalent to consult and be advised. In addition to such specially established organizations, each country provides a wide range of professional and learned bodies (e.g. national science foundations or councils, associations of teachers of various subjects or specialities) whose advice and specialized knowledge are at the disposal of the policy-maker.

The manner in which the Minister makes the best use of all this resource material available to him is governed also by the executive organization which is established by constitution or law to carry out his policies. The senior staff of the Ministry or Department forms an inner council which engages itself in framing policy. By virtue of their positions, the members of this group command the technical and administrative services which feed the Minister with the information required for policy decisions. Theoretically, the staff gives him impartial professional advice, based not only on their experience and specialized knowledge but also on researches and controlled experiments conducted by them or under their guidance and supervision. But in practice, such advice can range from 'hunches', unfounded biases and prejudices, and ill-digested 'pet theories' to calculated misrepresentations and mischievous distortion or 'slanting' of facts. The advice that a Minister receives from his advisory boards may, similarly, be tainted by ideological, religious and cultural attitudes of members. While, in every human activity, the informal roles which a person plays outside formal organizations have a considerable influence on policies and decisions, their impact on education is much greater because of the multiplicity of vested interests and the preponderence of subjective considerations in this field. Hence the constant attempt made in high level administration to test the soundness of the proposer in preference to that of the proposal.

Objectivity and impartiality are luxuries which educational policy-makers can hardly afford, despite the lip-service very earnestly paid to them. There is no doubt that the most - if not all - of the problems in educational policy-making arise from this reason. A methodology by which educational policies can be based more and more on objective assessments of conditions as they exist and less and less on partisan opinion is widely considered to be essential and urgent, although little has been done so far in that direction by policy-makers themselves. Meanwhile, the educational policy-maker will continue his precarious existence among contending parties for control, for the basic issue is a contest over whose preferences, values and subjective experience should ultimately prevail.

Often one hears the following complaint:

> "Partisan political considerations, pressure from sectarian, professional and other groups or economic interests have interfered with the orderly process of decision-making and prevented the adoption of needed policies."(1)

The political implications of educational policy-making are far too numerous and important for political parties to leave education in the hands of administrators. The argument that education should be 'above politics' or 'taken out of party politics' are in the realm of pious hopes, for in reality, no subject is so closely tied to politics as education. In the words of Burton R. Clark:

> "the relation of education to the main stream of politics grows as mass education creates new publics - some active, some passive - that attract the politician and the political party to issues what the government is and should be doing in education."(2)

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(1) Reller and Morphet: loc.cit., p. 180

(2) International Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences, New York, Macmillan Co. and the Free Press, Vol.IV, p. 511.

In those countries where an authoritarian form of government operates, educational policy is a tool of ideology; for instance, the Director of Propaganda of the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China takes up the position:

> "We hold the view that education should be directed by the Party, according to mass-line; the bourgeois class thinks that only expert staff can direct education."

In others, as Adam Curle points out:

> "national educational policies are most likely to be influenced more by the next election than by the exigencies of nation-building." (1)

Few politicians would be as objective as Stanley Baldwin, who as Prime Minister of Britain urged:

> "The primary concern of those who have such a sacred trust as you have is the unfolding of the child's personality and not the victory of the party.(2)

The more widespread attitude, adopted by pragmatic politicians, is to view their role as one of 'legitimate time-serving';

> "as all politicians know", says Lecky, "the desire for an attractive election cry is one of the strongest in politics; and as they also know well, there is such a thing as manufactured public opinion and artificially stimulated agitation. Questions are raised and pushed, not because they are for the advantage of the country but simply for purposes of party."(3)

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(1) Adam Curle: 'Education, Administration and Development', CAG Occasional Papers - Research Seminar, Boston University, 15 July - 23 August, 1963, p. 40.

(2) Quoted in W.O. Lester Smith: 'Government of Education', Penguin Books, 1965, p. 90.

(3) Lecky: 'Map of Life', London, Longmans, 1913, p. 164.

The role of the Minister as the principal policy-maker is made extremely complicated by his dual role in the political party in power and in the executive of the government. His task calls for subtle qualities of statesmanship, for he is constantly called upon to make adjustments and compromises between opposing interests and contradicting views. But not many countries recognize the importance of this office. As Adam Curle observes:

> "at the highest political levels there is, in many underdeveloped countries, an odd ambivalence about education. The Minister himself is normally a junior member of Cabinet, either a young man or on the way up who will not remain long in so unexciting a post or an old party hack appointed in recognition of what he has done in the past rather than in hope of what he may achieve in the future. On the other hand, education is a key political topic, one which arouses the greatest popular feeling ... Consequently major educational decisions are very often determined by the Prime Minister, or even the Cabinet as a whole. The Minister himself, because of his relatively lowly position, is not able to bring effectively to bear informed educational opinion upon policy-making."(1)

We shall return to the question of politics in education in our discussion of external pressures on educational administration and examine the role of ideologies and politicians in the national educational effort.

II. Executive Level

It is from the power of the Minister (which designation will in this work be used to include the Cabinet Officer responsible for education e.g. Secretary of State or Secretary) that the Ministry or the Department derives its strength and authority. The degree of power exercised by a Minister varies from country to country. It is not a question of the personality or the ability of the individual. Nor is it purely a question of legal power. According to Herbert Simon, the power to make decisions which guide the actions of another "cannot be fully understood as a legal phenomenon", for it is "not based on formal sancionts alone".(1) But the legal power does enhance the 'social power' of the Minister and confers on him "the capacity to control stimuli impinging upon other individuals which produce an effect phenomenologically observable as compliant behaviour".(2) The Education Act of 1944 of Britain is a classic example of a piece of legislation which granted the chief educational executive the requisite legal power and authority for the expressed purpose that he should 'lead boldly'. With the increasing complexity of administration and need for planned action, there is a tendency to recognize that it is vital to have a Minister empowered by law and enabled by the prestige attached to the office to determine priorities and control educational programmes on a national basis. In this capacity, the Minister is not only an opinion-leader but also a national administrator in every sense, performing the function of administration as defined by Woodrow Wilson; "detailed and systematic execution of public law."(3)

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(1) Adam Curle: Ibid., p. 39.

The Minister's principal function at the executive level is the interpretation of policy. Whether it is a general policy embodied formally in an election manifesto and generally in pre-election promises or an elaborate statement of policies developed and reviewed continually by a party hierarchy, the success in implementation rests on a series of important steps:

(a) a thorough and coherent grasp of the principles behind the policies, which enables the Minister to interpret them lucidly and without ambiguities;

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(1) Simon: 'Administrative Behaviour', New York, Macmillan Co., 1947, p. 129.

(2) Iannaccone in 'Behavioral Science and Educational Administration' (63rd Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education), Chicago, Illinois, 1964, p. 226.

(3) Woodrow Wilson: 'The Study of Administration', Political Science Quarterly II, (June 1887), p. 212.

(b) an over-all understanding of the educational situation and problems so that the policies are presented coherently with due regard to the need for consistency among different activities and levels;

(c) the translation of policies into succinct directives, adequately clear to those who have to carry them out, and

(d) the maintenance of a constant 'feedback' mechanism so that policies are reviewed and reinterpreted and directives are revised and modified in the light of experience and new developments.

These, no doubt, are intricate specialist functions which the Minister, in his capacity as a professional politician, cannot perform by himself. So the higher echelons of the Ministry - the Permanent Secretary or the Director du Cabinet or the Secretary General and his immediate deputies and assistants - form a team to help the Minister. It is often only the broad policy lines that are decided together; all other matters are usually delegated to different officials who, in the name of the Minister and subject to his supervision and review, interpret policies, formulate and issue directives and ensure their observance by the different levels to which they are addressed.

The executive functions of the Ministry go beyond the purely administrative activities of recruiting, placing, promoting, disciplining, removing, paying and directing personnel, of budgeting, obtaining, and disbursing funds, of entering into contracts buying, storing and issuing materials, securing services and of accounting and maintaining records. They include important functions of a legislative and judicial nature. It is important to observe how, with the elaboration of administration, many functions which were at the early stages done by specialized bodies are gradually passed on to the executive. As Herbert Kaufman notes:

> "yet they had to be accepted because no one could think of any other institution to assume the new burdens and responsibilities of government in the industrial era. The times called for more legislation than the legislature could possibly furnish, more

> management and direction of work forces than the chief executive could hope to provide, more adjudication than the courts could accommodate, more skilled personnel than the parties could present, broader social perspectives than special interests typically exhibited."(1)

The Ministry handles a fair amount of subsidiary legislation in the form of regulations, statutes, rules and orders. In many countries these are subject to parliamentary control and are debated, approved and rescinded by the legislature, quite often without prejudice to what has been done in the meantime. These relate not only to such administrative functions as creating institutions and providing them with constitutions but also matters where the freedom of the public is regulated to fit into government policy (e.g. compulsory schooling, medium of instruction, zoning of schools). This legislative role has made the Ministry a partisan political organization. It has to undertake extensive propaganda programmes in favour of its legislative measures; though called euphemistically 'information' or 'public education', their purpose is in no way different from that of a political party. The Ministry also maintains public relations for the purpose of converting people to its way of thinking and meeting public criticism. It is constantly called upon to exert pressure on the political machinery of the country in diverse ways. It is to this aspect of administration that C.E. Beeby refers when he says:

> "A shrewd administrator who knows how to point up the unfortunate social or political implications of certain cuts in education may, on occasion, secure from the reluctant Minister of Finance an increase in his total vote."(2)

As Herbert Kaufman observes:

> "Exerting political pressure is an administrative function."(3)

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(1) Herbert Kaufman in 'The International Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences', Macmillan and the Free Press, 1968, Vol.I, p. 64.

(2) C.E. Beeby: 'Planning and the Educational Administrator', Unesco-IIEP, 1967, p. 20.

(3) Herbert Kaufman: loc.cit., p. 63.

The Ministry also performs a wide variety of quasi-judicial functions not only in the administration of personnel and contracts but also in matters affecting rights and privileges of groups and individuals. In this process it comes under the supervision of the judicial system of the country, which is basically concerned with tenets of natural justice. Most countries safeguard the public from administrative excesses and provide remedies in the form of writs such as certiorari, quo warranto and mandamus. The Ministry is often called upon to canvass its actions in courts of law and this adds a further dimension to its executive functions. While courts decide on issues referred to it from the point of view of the individual or the group affected by the administrative decision or action, the Ministry has to ascertain that the emerging case-law out of court decisions does not interfere with the smooth functioning of administration or the achievement of its objectives. So, every time such a threat presents itself, the Ministry has to take such steps as are necessary to remove ambiguities in existing legislation through amendments or new laws.

Where the constitution of a country has provided for an autonomous Public Service or Civil Service Commission, the Ministry has a further role to play. Personnel administration, in such a situation, becomes a delicate balance among three opposing interests: (i) the Public Service or Civil Service Commission which is charged by the Constitution with the responsibility of safeguarding the public servant from political victimization; (ii) the Minister as the representative of the political party in power, who is concerned with the loyalty of the public servant to the government and (iii) the executive which requires an efficient, honest and reliable public service to carry out its duties. Clash of personalities, power and influence of informal structures, social and cultural prejudices, political rivalries and racial, tribal and geographical differences as well as unfounded fears and suspicious make this task extremely difficult, thus demanding ever so often the attention of the highest executive officers to such matters as appointments, transfers, promotions and disciplinary control.

These functions consume the major part of both time and energy of the Ministry. Its preoccupation with legislative, judicative, partisan and personnel functions leaves it little opportunity to devote adequate attention to educational services - the raison d'être of the Ministry. Of course, the gravity of this problem varies according to the educational administrative organization of the country. In those countries where the national educational services are looked after more by local authorities and private managements, the Ministry has to perform only the major functions. So does a Federal Ministry concentrate on over-all policy rather than individual services. But where both types of functions have to be performed by one and the same executive - and this is the case in most countries - some sort of division of labour has been achieved. The structural arrangements by which this is done are numerous. But the main pattern is to create one or more purely technical officers who are responsible for particular services either in the Ministry itself or in departments which work under the general direction of the Ministry. The heads of such technical organizations are generally given wide powers and, in many cases, are directly responsible to the Minister.

The relative positions of the Permanent Secretary and the Chief Education Officer or Director of Education of some British Commonwealth countries and the subtle division of functions between the Chef and the Directeur du Cabinet in French-speaking countries indicate the usual approach to this problem. Its operation is intended to be as described by Adam Curle:

> "Compared with his /_the Director of Public Instruction_/ work, that of the Secretary is relatively unimportant: he acts more as a link between the directorate /_i.e. the technical organization for education_/ and the government than as a policy-maker, for although the secretariat is nominally responsible for policy, the greater part of the initiative will come from a vigorous DPI /_Director of Public Instruction_/."(1)

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(1) Adam Curle: 'Planning for Education in Pakistan - A Personal Case Study', Mass., Harvard University Press, Cambridge, p. 80.

But, in reality, the situation is quite different. The Permanent Secretary or the Secretary wields so much power and influence, due both to his proximity to the political vortex of the system and to his being usually a member of a more prestigeous administrative elite, that the head of the technical services are overawed and rendered ineffective. The responsibility for technical services, too, is vested in the Permanent Secretary or Secretary and, therefore, his assumption of authority over technical officers is constitutionally and legally defensible; but its impact on the efficiency of educational services can be negative. This situation is made worse when the authority of the Permanent Secretary or Secretary is delegated to junior and relatively inexperienced officers of the Ministry and they exercise powers of supervision over technical services. The difficulties usually experienced in this case arise from four factors:

(a) the junior officers generally represent the general administrative elite of the country, selected on the strength of academic achievements and entrusted from the very beginning with prestigeous administrative functions; there is invariably an aloofness adopted by them as a group and a negative reaction to it from the other administrative officers of the country;

(b) the technical services in education are administered by senior officers who had reached their positions after long years of work at different levels of the educational administrative hierarchy, commencing their careers as teachers. As a group they tend to be more inclined to conserve what they had achieved and maintain the status quo than to 'rocking the boat' and introducing changes and innovations;

(c) professionalization of educational administration has still not been attempted in most countries and as such, the general administrator does not recognize that any special competence or particular type of training or experience is required to administer education;

(d) the political policy-makers, naturally impatient with the status quo and demanding quick changes and reforms with instant results, favour the younger and more energetic administrators - especially the kind that can be transferred in and out of the Ministry - to assist them in both policy-making and executive functions.

The role of the technical and professional services in the executive functions of the Ministry varies from country to country. In some countries they are integrated into the executive as well as the policy-making machinery of the Ministry. But, in others, they serve only the limited functions of (a) supplying information to the policy-making and the executive levels and (b) carrying out directives sent down by them. In many countries they occupy a rather undefined position in between. The technical and professional services of the Ministry of Education, consists of:

(a) Educational services
(b) Financial, accounting, supply and stores services
(c) Architectural, building and equipment services
(d) Legal services

With regard to the professional standing of (b), (c) and (d), there are rarely any doubts. Accountants, stores managers, architects, engineers, surveyors, draughtsmen and lawyers, along with their specialist assistants and supporting staffs, have a recognized place in the organization and their involvement both as advisers and decision-makers at every level is accepted without question. But when it comes to (a) - the most important of all services rendered by the Ministry - any lay man is implicitly, if not explicitly, considered to be competent to function at the executive level. An examination of this attitude, which is prevalent in countries of different historical backgrounds, geographical distribution and economic conditions, reveals four main causes:

(a) a historical cause stemming from the fact that education began as an informal social activity on the basis that any adult could educate the young;

(b) an administrative cause resulting from the early organizations for educational administration which were purely supervisory and 'caretaker' in function;

(c) a functional cause based on the inadequate development of the professionalization of educational administration and the amateurish approach to the organization of educational services, and

(d) a personnel cause in that the educational administrator, *per se* has had his professional training only for the specialist function of teaching in a classroom and such training is of limited value in the higher echelons of administration.

The countries, which have struck a balance between the non-technical and the technical-cum-professional aspects of educational administration, could do so by a progressive process of sophistication in educational services:

(a) by dividing them first according to levels (i.e. primary, secondary and higher), then according to types (i.e. general, vocational, technical, professional) and finally according to institutions;

(b) by recognizing the need to organize, at the national level, specialized activities such as;
   (i) developing and renewing curricula;
   (ii) research into and dissemination of information about methods of teaching and reforms in structure;
   (iii) measuring and evaluating pupil performance and making academic awards;
   (iv) approving, preparing, publishing and distributing textbooks and teaching materials;
   (v) certification, approval, training and retraining of teachers and other educational personnel;

(c) by correlating education with other national activities and, above all, with national development.

With this type of sophistication, other kinds of technical personnel have come into the executive level of education. The influx of statisticians, demographers, economists, manpower experts and planners has changed the mechanics of decision-making at the executive level. The foreign adviser, obtained on bi-lateral or multi-lateral aid, adds a further dimension to the functions at this level.

While the executive level in educational administration is already, or fast becoming, the meeting place of a wide range of specialists - technical, professional and administrative - several criticisms are levelled against it:

(a) it is bureaucratic in organization and is guided by too many rigid rules, regulations and procedures;

(b) it does not reach out for the educational expertise beyond the administrative machinery and benefit from the wider experience and wisdom of those outside their charmed circle;

(c) it reacts defensively to public opinion and negatively to suggestions and advice from political circles;

(d) it tends to adopt an 'ivory tower' attitude and be insensitive to social demand and political and cultural aspirations of the people.

In these respects the educational administrator at the executive level is in no way different to his counterparts in other services. But education is more in the public eye and more people are involved with the decisions of the educational executive as parents, teachers, pupils, alumni of educational institutions and so on.

The isolation of the educational executive is the result of a number of factors:

(a) its proximity and intimate involvement in the legislative and policy-making functions of the Ministry has enabled it to operate an effective 'close-door' policy, most clearly noticed in the manner how advisory councils and boards are often empowered only to advise 'on matters referred to it by the Minister etc.', and rarely on its own initiative;

(b) in countries where the government is, by convention or design, engaged in major policy questions or where the instability of the political structure has resulted in frequent changes of government or where under a colonial power a highly centralized administration was operated by civil servants, the executive has gained the over-all control of the entire administrative machinery; under such circumstances it can only be expected to consolidate and defend its powers and authority;

(c) its organization and methods as in most other governmental institutions, remain archaic and out-of-date; it confuses activity with productivity and believes in its elaborate ritual of minutes, submissions, files, orders, communiques and circulars as ends in themselves. Even office conferences, where members of the executive attempt solutions to problems jointly, are a post-war feature. Even here, few make full use of the principles of group participation;

(d) its rigid lines of authority and channels of communication tend to insulate it against outside influences as well as innovations, changes and suggestions which are not generated at the highest level;

(e) its system of 'feedback' from the operational level and for self-evaluation and revision of directions is often its least developed component. Whatever exists is too ineffective to make the executive level adequately sensitive to changes in society as well as developments in research.

Reformers of educational administration have discovered a greater tendency for above short-comings in the executive level of highly centralized systems. The U.S. Education Mission to Japan in 1946, for instance, pointed out how:

"a centralized system encouraged manipulation and exploitation by political forces and lent itself to control by an entrenched bureaucracy."(1)

Two recommendations have been made in informed circles:

(a) decentralize the control of education and involve the public in all stages of its administration and management (the call, being make the public school public);

(b) establish an effective partnership between professional educators/administrators and lay men in assessing needs, planning improvements and evolving education to meet the changing needs of society.

The extent to which the executive level is governed by the spirit of these recommendations is discernible from an analysis of its relations with the next level of educational administration which, for purposes of convenience, will be referred to as the intermediate level.

III. The Intermediate Level

The administrative machinery, located between the Ministry or the Department and the operation-supervisory level or the institutions is the most complex element in the educational organization of most countries. In countries with centralized systems, it consists of either:

(a) a set of regional or district units, which are, in fact, a closely-knit regionalization of the executive; or

(b) a net-work of diversified administrative organizations supervising and controlling institutions from the point of view of their special tasks and objectives.

The Regional or District Department or Office of Education is nothing but an arm of the Ministry and executive functions are shared between them to varying degrees. It operates on the same principles as the central authority and, besides being located nearer the scene of activity and hence convenient to the people served by it, it does not fulfil any of the goals of decentralization, which, as Roald F. Campbell observes, are "not achieved through mere tinkering with the organizational chart".(1) But in a number of such systems efforts are being made to achieve greater participation of local people in educational decision-making through a process of decentralized advisory committees or boards. The French system of interior councils composed of representatives from the professional staff and local civil leaders is an example of this phenomenon. But, being advisory, their influence and effectiveness depends very heavily on personalities involved. Our comments on central advisory committees or boards (vide p. 14) apply to these as well.

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(1) Reller and Morphet: loc.cit., p. 257.

The second type of intermediate level administration, referred to above, is an effort at diversifying institutional supervision. For instance, in the USSR:

> "largely for the purpose of operating convenience, Soviet schools are subordinate to various governmental administrations, thus creating a complex system of institutional pyramids having the deceptive appearance of decentralized authority."(2)

Such a pattern, of course, is possible when the underlying unity of administration is achieved by means of a monolithic political structure. (Vide, diagrams 1 and 2 on pages 100 and 101 of IIEP: Educational Planning in the USSR.)

In countries with decentralized educational systems, the intermediate level consists of:

(i) local government authorities, i.e. county or borough councils, municipalities;
(ii) local educational authorities, i.e. school boards;
(iii) religious or church educational organizations;
(iv) managements of private or independent schools.

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(1) 63rd Year Book of the National Society for the Study of Education, p. 298.

(2) Reller and Morphet: loc.cit., p. 372.

Local control of education has been recommended by many writers on educational administration as 'highly desirable' because:

"(a) it focuses responsibility where it is conceived to belong, in the people close to the children for whom education is provided;

(b) it protects the schools from risk of domination by any central political power, and

(c) it permits the adaptation of education to varying social needs, and to the range of personal needs represented by the particular children of particular communities."(1)

"The local administration of education", says Lester Smith, "is very different from the relatively detached and remote control exercised by the Minister and his civil servants. What makes it fascinating is that it is a very human business and those responsible are - or should be - in close touch with their problems and operate with a first hand knowledge of the persons concerned, the places, the buildings and the local conditions."(2)

But the success of local educational boards or authorities depends very heavily on:

(a) whether the districts are properly organized;

(b) whether the people in the district take an adequate interest in education to elect or insist on a competent board;

(c) whether an adequate number of competent persons are prepared to place public service above profit, pleasure and leisure and serve on such boards diligently and efficiently;

(d) whether the boards employ well-qualified administrative officers and provide them with effective leadership, direction and guidance;

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(1) C.A. Richardson, Hélène Brulé and H.E. Snyder: 'The Education of Teachers in England, France and U.S.A.', Unesco, 1954, pp. 217-218.

(2) W.O. Lester Smith: loc.cit., p. 148.

(e) whether the board steers clear of local political, religious or racial rivalries and hostilities and such other partisan issues, and

(f) whether the people in the district are prepared to support vigorously programmes for the improvement of education.

The principal problem experienced in effecting a satisfactory degree of local control is the organization of the districts. In both Britain and the U.S.A., there had been several changes in the delimitation of these districts and the tendency has been to reduce the number of districts as a means of more effective utilization of both personnel and facilities; for instance, the Education Act of 1944 reduced the number of local authorities from 315 to 146: in U.S.A. the number decreased from about 130,000 districts to approximately 40,000 in 30 years. A similar process is in operation in Canada. Even then, it is found, especially in the U.S.A. and Canada, that many of the districts are still too small to organize and support an efficient programme of education.

The composition as well as the powers of the local authorities, too, vary from country to country. In Britain the local control is exercised by the Education Committee of the local authority. Consisting of 5 to 50 members, usually 20 to 30, it establishes policy and is responsible for the administration; it sanctions actions of its officials and explains its policy to the public. In the U.S.A., the school boards are usually elected on a non-partisan basis by the residents of the district; comprising lay citizens, these boards are responsible for policy and for the appointment of the superintendent or administrator. They either certify certain taxes for educational purposes or request funds from the city or county government. In South Africa, the boards which are controlled by government-sponsored nominees, have neither taxing powers nor any responsibility for financing(1), while in Canada, the boards have wide freedom and responsibility in matters relating to the school plant and facilities, the employment of teachers and school financing but little discretion in curricular matters.

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(1) Reller and Morphet: loc.cit., pp. 324-325.

In no other aspect of educational administration is the inadvisability of transplanting a particular system from one country to another displayed more dramatically than in attempts to introduce local boards. An interesting case in point is post-war Japan where the process of decentralization introduced during the Occupation has been replaced by a strong move for recentralization whereby the Ministry has regained an over-all control over education.(1)

The effort at recentralization is not peculiar to Japan. As regards Netherlands, Ph.J. Idenburg says:

> "The history of the educational system has been the history of a continuous process of reduction in local authority."(2)

In Mexico and Brazil, too, one observes the reverse of decentralization although in the latter case the problem is that the municipios have been unable to assume their delegated constitutional rights in education because of meagre sources of revenue.(3)

A frequent criticism against local control is that the local authority is more susceptible to political and partisan influences. For example, in the Philippines:

> "one concern has been that if boards were elected by popular vote, or even appointed, religious, partisan or political influences might affect the schools adversely."(4)

School boards, like other organizations are:

> "essentially political aggregations of individuals and groups in coalition or in conflict with one another."(5)

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(1) Reller and Morphet: loc.cit., pp. 257-260

(2) Ph.J. Idenburg: 'Democracy and Education in the Netherlands', Delta, 1960, p. 15.

(3) Reller and Morphet: loc.cit., p. 199.

(4) Reller and Morphet: loc.cit., p. 307.

(5) 63rd Year Book of the National Society for the Study of Education, p. 211.

The need to be in authority, often, appears to them to be as important as or, sometimes, even more important than the service they are expected to render. Political patronage extended to supporters with neither qualifications nor experience has sometimes deprived the educational administration of efficient leadership. While this defect may operate at the policy-making and the executive levels as well, its presence in the intermediate level, close to the scene of operation, tends to make it more pronounced and detrimental to the cause of education.

Moreover, there is a problem in subjecting education to non-professional influences and control, for, in the absence of sound professional assistance, the decisions of these boards will be based more on prejudices and individual inclinations than on scientifically established or professionally verified principles. This is an important issue for in such organizations, power is exercised not necessarily by their qualified and experienced members but by those who have the leisure and the incentive to make the work of the boards their first priority.

Furthermore, it is observed that the people most qualified to serve on these boards effectively are so mobile that they are rarely available to local authorities for an adequately long time. Due to these reasons as well as the fact that professionalization of education is still not fully developed, the conflict between competent professional administrative leadership and expedient political administration is a major problem at the intermediate level of educational administration.

In spite of the claims made on behalf of local control, it must be admitted that lay participation at the intermediate level has proved to be effective and constructive only where an explicit or even tacit division of responsibility and functions is in operation between the boards and their administrative officials. In this connexion, Donald W. Miles' remarks on decentralizing the French system of educational administration are opposite:

> "Were local autonomy in educational policy and practice to be granted suddenly ... it ... would place in the hands of the local school administrator, the teaching staff and the lay public a degree of authority and responsibility which very few of them would be prepared to accept or even want to accept. ... To expose a reluctant and unprepared local administration and an even more reluctant and unprepared teaching staff to a variety of local community pressures ... would be to force schools into the security of an even more traditional pattern than is now the case."(1)

While it is clear that the degree of local control over education which each country permits is dependent on several ideological, political and historical factors, the need to make the intermediate level of education dynamically sensitive to local needs is being widely recognized. The world situation as regards this matter may be summarized as follows: neither the highly centralized nor the highly decentralized systems seem to serve the rapidly mounting demand for development in education: a via media, which enables the Central Government authority to lead, direct and support educational efforts effectively and allows the local people to participate fully in diversifying education to local needs, is the target of every forward-looking educational administrator.

The intermediate level which comprises religious or church educational organizations and managements of private or independent schools varies from highly organized administrative units to informal arrangements. In most countries, there are written laws, directions or codes which prescribe their powers, duties and obligations. Historically, these organizations and managements had controlled education in many countries long before the State began to take an interest in it.

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(1) Donald W. Miles: 'Recent Reforms in French Secondary Education - with Implications for French and American Education', New York, Columbia University Teachers College, 1953, pp. 136-138.

Traditionally, their clientele had come from the richer and more influential classes and the organizations reflect their prestige. The degree of control which these organizations and managements exercise depends on their non-educational objectives. A management, which is governed by profit-making motives, controls specifically the material and financial aspects of its institutions and, unless a heavy investment promises it better dividends, the attention paid to the academic aspects (i.e. qualified teachers, reforms in curricula and adoption of new methods, etc.) is, on the whole, minimal - just enough to satisfy the minimum standards imposed by the State. Religious and cultural organizations have other problems; the inadequacy of financial resources is a major difficulty experienced by them in countries where no state support is given to them and the State controls fees that can be levied on pupils. With the increasing public investment in education, these organizations face grave problems of financial inequality. The other problem is directly related to the extra-educational objectives of the organization. Steeped in tradition and restricted to a rigid set of values, they are compelled to be conservative and to resist changes and innovations which run counter to their values or dogmas. They continue to cater for the economically and socially well-placed families. This limitation, often, tends to keep them away from the main trends of social development.

As administrative units, the religious and cultural organizations and the managements of private schools are dominated by non-academic and non-professional persons. Few of them even employ professional personnel other than as heads of institutions. As a result the services they organize and maintain are quite limited both in magnitude and in intensity. It is somewhat rarely that one finds them engaged in reasonably efficient educational services in the form of curriculum development and renewal, training and re-training of teachers or experimentation in methodology. They are generally preoccupied with problems of finance, school plants and recruitment of teachers and other employees.

The above limitations have made denominational and private school managements vulnerable to both political and executive control. Legislative measures in several countries (e.g. France in 1886, Scotland in 1918, Japan in 1949, Egypt in 1958 and Ceylon in 1960/61) reflect a trend to subject them to direct government control. This, however, is not a new feature. As far back as 1906, Augustin Birrell sought to end the dual system in England; commenting on it M. Cruickshank, who apparently believes that a State-sponsored unified educational system is more efficient, says:

> "In the history of English education, the Birrell Bill is unquestionably the great missed opportunity of the twentieth century."(1)

The main arguments for bringing all educational institutions under direct government or local government control have been threefold:

(a) removing the class distinctions often perpetuated by private and denominational schools and guaranteeing equality of educational opportunity;

(b) conserving the scarce resources available to education by preventing fragmentation of facilities for parochial reasons and by reorganizing the available facilities for use by a wider section of the population according to a plan of development, and

(c) ensuring administrative facility and effectiveness.

But those countries, which continue the dual system, are more in agreement with R.A. Butler, the British Minister of Education of 1944: He said:

> "But simplicity and tidiness are not the relevant criteria, and a few steps would have been, or would be, more stupid. The churches have a claim before history to a continued honourable role in English education."(2)

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(1) M. Cruickshank: 'Church and State in English Education', London, Macmillan, 1963, p. 103.

(2) R.A. Butler: 'Jubilee Lectures', Evans, 1952, p. 46.

Thus, despite the rapid expansion in public education, religious and cultural organizations and managements of private schools continue to exercise a considerable control over education in most countries in the world, among which Spain, Latin American countries and the Philippines should be noted for the prominent role they play in national education.

The relationship which the intermediate level has with the policy-making and executive levels varies from country to country and falls broadly within the following:

(i) working partnership and mutual co-operation;
(ii) general supervision;
(iii) direct control;
(iv) guidance through incentives and inducements;
(v) advisory and informational;
(vi) laisser faire;
(vii) hostility.

The best example for a sound working partnership between the Ministry and local authorities is Britain, which a Parliamentary Secretary addressing the 1962 Conference of the Association of Education Committees described as follows:

> "The relationship between the Ministry and the authorities has grown into a closer and more harmonious working partnership."(1)

The reason for this understanding, in spite of the wide powers vested in the Minister, is given by H.C. Dent when he says,

> "No Minister has yet even attempted to use these powers dictatorially, and there would be a first-class political crisis if he did. Consultation and negotiation are the means he is expected to employ, and in fact does employ."(2)

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(1) W.O. Lester Smith: loc.cit., p. 12.

(2) H.C. Dent: 'The Educational System of England and Wales, University of London Press, 1961, p. 66.

Where the intermediate level is subject to the general supervision of the Ministry, such supervision is exercised either through a national inspectorate as in East Germany or through the local inspectorate. Where the intermediate level consists of private and denominational school managements, the usual procedure is for the Ministry to issue broad policy instructions in the form of orders, circulars or notifications and for the inspectorate concerned to ensure that they are complied with. Withdrawal of approvals or licences is the penalty of any unapproved deviation from such instructions.

In the case of direct control, the intermediate level is reduced to the state of a branch organization of the Ministry and it is allowed little discretion in any matter. This relationship is characterized, as in Australia, by direct political control, enormous powers of the executive and the minor role allowed for lay persons. In this case, the directions issued by the Ministry are not confined to broad and general policy; they come in the form of detailed and comprehensive statutes pertaining to all aspects of educational administration including curriculum, buildings, teaching staff and finance. Here, too, a national inspectorate ensures their observance by the intermediate level and a variety of penalties is embodied in the statutes 'to give them teeth'.

The net result of such direct control is rigid uniformity, as one observes in Spain, Netherlands, India, Pakistan, Ceylon, or New Zealand. Such uniformity is, of course, strongly defended. With regard to India, D.D. Karve states:

> "Heads of high schools and teachers have lost all initiative to experiment with new methods or to try out new ideas. The whole system has been forced into a set pattern. This state of affairs is defended by the party in power on the ground that uniformity is necessary at least in the period of planned development if the best results are to be achieved with the available resources."(1)

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(1) Reller and Morphet: loc.cit., p. 240.

In New Zealand and Ceylon the arguments relate to the problems of increasing efficiency and of providing equal opportunities for all children irrespective of the district or of family finances. A very significant case of direct control is to be found in Japan where since 1956 the Ministry has tightened its control by a number of measures which include: (i) the institution of a required moral course; (ii) the strengthening of a textbook screening system; (iii) the official issuance of revised courses of studies and (iv) the enforcement of a nation-wide teachers' efficiency rating system.(1)

The U.S.A. and Canada are typical of countries which have developed a relationship based on advisory and informational services and guidance through incentives and inducements. The Federal and the State or Provincial Governments take the initiative in establishing high level institutes and learned bodies which through seminars, workshops, publications and training programmes provide the climate and the incentives for changes and innovations in education while financial grants and loans for specific projects urge the intermediate level to direct its attention to the changing emphases. The progress made in the U.S.A. with its science and mathematics programmes is a remarkable achievement of this approach.

It is only in a very few countries that the intermediate level is left entirely to itself without any control or guidance from the Ministry. Here, the religious and cultural organizations as well as the managements of private education have ensured that the State would interest itself with the public school system only. A similar relationship is observed when local organizations set up schools outside the government system to meet the growing social demand for education as in the case of Harambe schools in several East African countries and Minpan schools in the People's Republic of China. The pressure exerted by the organizers of Harambe schools is East Africa on the government to take them over and integrate with the public system has proved to be a serious interference with planned development.

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(1) Ibid., p. 269.

There is at least one instance where the relationship between the Ministry and the intermediate level can be described as hostile, for, while exerting all the political influence at its command to prevent any degree of executive control or guidance, it even interferes with the expansion of a public system of education in this particular country.

The relationship which the intermediate level has with the institutions at the operational level, also, varies from place to place and is usually one of the following:

(i) rigid over-all control;
(ii) rigid financial and administrative control with curricular autonomy allowed to the institutions;
(iii) financial control with curricular autonomy and powers of internal administration allowed to the institutions;
(iv) advisory and co-ordinating.

Where the control is rigid, the function of the head of the institution is confined to seeing that rules and regulations laid down by the higher levels are carefully carried out. Neither he nor his staff has any powers of revision, experimentation and innovation. Such a curtailment of the autonomy of institutions does have an adverse effect on education as a whole. As shown by Manuel Fraga Iribarne in respect of Spain,

> "the tensions sometimes caused by the relations between teachers and local officials or authorities may stand in the way of a completely harmonious incorporation of some teachers into the work of the school."(1)

In better school systems in the U.S.A. and Canada, not only the head of the institutions but also the teachers participate in policy formulation, thus avoiding the possibility of arbitrary and conflicting administrative decisions and the confusion and conflicts which are likely to arise from such decisions. In Britain, curricula, courses of study and method of instruction are the responsibility of the principal and the teachers. The Chief Education Officer, if at all, only issues suggestions.

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(1) Reller and Morphet: loc.cit., p. 103.

It is highly desirable that the teachers, in particular, should exercise a fair degree of academic autonomy, for this, alone, can reduce much of the problems that exist between the intermediate level and the institutions. As William R. Dill observes,

> "Teachers may resist administrators partly because the opportunity for autonomy is traditionally an incentive to draw men into teaching and partly because schools can seldom offer salaries and fringe benefits that would compensate for the sacrifice of autonomy which industry can demand." (1)

The majority of the problems in educational administration stems from or pertains to the organizational and operational complexity of the intermediate level. While the policy-making and the executive levels are governed by well-established conventions and procedures and the institutions have a definite concept of goals and functions, the multiple organizations of the intermediate level are generally left to their own devices. While their independence can be ideologically justified, the difficulties it causes in the form of inequalities in standards, facilities and opportunities and problems of co-ordination and efficiency are considerable. With the mounting pressure for greater equality in both standards and opportunities and the requisite expansion in facilities not only in school plant but in common educational services like audio-visual and resource centres, a greater measure of co-operation and co-ordination is called for from the different organizations of this level. In the absence of arrangements made by the organizations themselves, the Ministry of Education is compelled to take the initiative. The situation as it exists in most countries today is similar to that of Britain in 1944; "the note of authority at the centre", said Sir Fredrick Clarke referring to the conditions in Britain,

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(1) 63rd Year Book of the National Society for the Study of Education, p. 221.

> "is a new thing in English educational administration. The reasons for it in this critical age are easy to understand. Dangers abroad, pressure for greater equality at home and unknown possibilities ahead are justification enough."(1)

Ways and means of reinforcing the intermediate level to enable it to discharge effectively the challenging role, it has to play in educational development, figure among the most urgent tasks for reformers of educational administration.

IV. Operation-supervisory Level

The operation-supervisory level consists of the machinery utilized by the executive or the intermediate level to ensure that the institutions under its control perform their functions satisfactorily. It is primarily in the form of a national or a local inspectorate. Wherever the local community has undertaken this function, its supervision rarely extended beyond the physical aspects of administration. In some countries, specially of Eastern Europe, the arrangements for operation-supervision are quite elaborate; for instance, in East Germany, it is carried out in four ways: (i) immediate educational channels of the Ministry, district and county; (ii) the Central Government Inspection Office; (iii) mass organizations represented in advisory and examination committees; and (iv) the Party, thus making it "virtually impossible for a teacher to deviate from the doctrine of central government without being detected". (2)

Wherever the policy-making, the executive or the intermediate level exercises an over-all control over institutions by: (i) issuing detailed curricula to be followed by schools; (ii) preparing and conducting terminal or year-end examinations; (iii) reserving the right to approve textbooks and (iv) certifying and grading teachers; the function of the inspectorate is restricted to a type of police duty of enforcing directives. But the concept of an inspector functioning as a policeman is changing quite rapidly. Already some countries prefer less rigid designations like supervisor or advisor. He is, at least, theoretically no more the inquisitor or dictator he was when his administrative authority was quite excessive as, for instance, in Britain in the closing decades of the last century when 'payment by results' was in operation. The role that he is now expected to play is that of a friend of the institutions, assisting them through consultation, advice and encouragement and serving them through 'the identification of sound ideas and their dissemination'. As a former British Permanent Secretary, Selby-Brigge, had visualized, the inspectors are becoming "agents of cross-fertilization, gathering pollen on their visits and depositing it in promising schools and schoolrooms".(1) But, in practice, the inspector still wields his authority not so much by his superior abilities or professional leadership but by such administrative weapons as grading teachers' performance and exercising disciplinary control over them.

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(1) University of Toronto Quarterly XIV, No. 2, January 1945.

(2) Reller and Morphet, loc.cit., p. 51

The educational inspectorate is nowhere a uniform service. It comprises persons of varying levels of training and experience as well as of professional stature and authority. Besides the major divisions into national ,regional and local inspectors, they fall into different categories on the basis of the type of institutions they supervise or the specialities they represent (e.g. primary school inspectors, secondary school inspectors, science inspectors, art inspectors, etc.). Their spheres of action are defined either on a geographical or a subject basis or both. Generally they are responsible for the general supervision of a number of schools or the special supervision of a given subject or set of subjects in a number of institutions.

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(1) Quoted in Reller and Morphet: loc.cit. p. 65.

In either case, the inspectors are called upon to play a dual role, i.e. (i) as administrative officers and (ii) as technical advisers and leaders. Which of these two roles should have precedence is a vexed issue over which there is little agreement. While the educational theorists continue to argue that the technical functions of the inspectorate should receive the greater attention, the administrators as well as the inspectors themselves place greater stress on the administrative functions. Apart from the prestige that is associated with administrative duties which establish the authority of the inspectorate over teachers and institutional heads, the fact that the inspectors themselves are assessed on their performance of administrative functions determines the final outcome. Besides this inferior position assigned to technical functions, the psychological barriers created between the inspectorate and the operational level by the combination of two contradictory roles interferes with the effectiveness of the inspectorate in educational leadership. How does an inspector inspire confidence in teachers to regard him as a friend and guide when the major role he plays in that of a judge or prosecutor? Or how can a teacher approach an inspector for professional guidance without the fear that any weakness or deficiency he displays would be utilized by the inspector in the assessment of his performance? This remains a major issue for which no simple solution appears to be available.

The problems of the inspectorate are not limited to their administrative and technical functions. The relationship between the inspectorate and the policy-making and the executive levels is not always very satisfactory. While the inspectorate, on account of their proximity to the grass-roots, feels that it is exceptionally competent not only to supply detailed information on local problems but also to offer suggestions and recommendations, it is rarely given an opportunity to do so. The bureaucratic hierarchy through which its views and suggestions have to be channelled upwards not only consumes too much time but enables those ideas with which the intermediate superior officers are not conversant or not in agreement to be side-tracked and soft-pedalled. The inspectorate also finds itself given little professional guidance and advice and is compelled to 'play it by ear' most of the time. Few countries have any problem-solving agencies to service their inspectorate. Moreover, in both programmes of in-service retraining and in opportunities for professional growth, the inspectorate, in practically all the countries, receives less attention than any other sector of the educational service.

An inevitable conclusion when one examines the role of the inspectorate in most countries - specially the developing countries - is that it is the most ill-used and, at the same time, under-used arm of educational administration. The indispensable function it can perform as a fountain-head of professional and technical inspiration to institutions in an area has still to be achieved in most countries. Whatever educational work that is being done in some places appears to be more as a result of a personal dedication to the cause of education rather than as a formal part of its duties.

This situation becomes clear when the relationship between the inspectorate and the operational level is analysed. With the gradation of the inspectorate, which in some countries ranges from divisional inspectors of schools to sub-divisional sub-inspectors of schools ("a depressingly low-sounding title" says Adam Curle(1)) and the assignment of institutions accordingly, all inspectors are not responsible for all institutions or all types of schools. As a rule, universities, advanced institutes of technology and such other seats of higher education are not assigned to the inspectorate. Exercising, thus, their authority over primary and secondary schools and sometimes teacher training colleges, inspectors perform a wide variety of functions, e.g.:

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(1) Adam Curle, loc.cit., p. 60.

(i) management as the immediate superiors of institutional heads. The over-all control they exercise extends to matters of finance, school plant, facilities, student and teacher discipline, leave, records and even the admission and removal of students;

(ii) enforcement of rules and regulations as the representatives of the executive in the field;

(iii) administrative functions on behalf of the executive, e.g. organizing and supervising public examinations, screening of candidates for recruitment and scholarships, attending local co-ordinating bodies on diverse subjects;

(iv) teacher-evaluation, particularly by means of audition in classes and examination of teachers' notes and records of work. In most countries, the merit-grading of teachers for purposes of promotion, salary increments, confirmation in service and certification for recruitment is assigned to the inspectorate;

(v) pupil-evaluation, either by means of terminal, year-end or *ad hoc* examinations or by a perusal of written work, undertaken primarily for purposes of teacher-evaluation and used also for the administrative objectives of ascertaining whether specified curricula and syllabuses are being observed;

(vi) in-service training of teachers both for improvement of teaching methods and for the orientation of teachers to a new curriculum;

(vii) professional leadership, guidance and advice by encouraging and directing experimentation in curricula and methods and marchally institutional and executive support for innovations and changes;

(viii) public relations for purposes of winning popular support to new policies, innovations and changes and enlisting the co-operation of the public in the development of education.

The importance that the inspectorate usually attaches to these functions varies from country to country according to the degree of centralization of administrative authority and, more significantly, the professional and educational profile of the teaching service.

Where the teaching profession is still not fully developed the inspectorate, contrary to what is demanded of it, is more prone to interest itself with a purely administrative and inspecting role. But where the institutional administrators and teachers are given a greater measure of autonomy and are of a higher quality, the inspectorate is more likely to perform high level professional services such as problem-solving, professional exchange and experimentation. The latter is the ideal relationship that should exist between the operation-supervisory level and the operational level and it is interesting to note that a similar type of relationship was in the minds of those who in 1840 organized the first inspectorate of Britain:

> "It is of the utmost consequence that you should bear in mind that this inspection is not intended as a means of exercising control but of affording assistance, that it is not to be regarded as operating for the restraint of local efforts but for their encouragement, and that its chief objects will not be attained without the co-operation of the school communities."(1)

V. Operational Level

The operational level in educational administration consists of a multiplicity of administrative arrangements made for the internal functioning of: (i) universities and colleges; (ii) technological and technical institutions; (iii) teacher training institutions; (iv) secondary schools; (v) primary schools; (vi) apprenticeship and on-the-job training facilities; (vii) adult education programmes;

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(1) Quoted by George C. Allen, H.M. Inspector of Schools: A Personal Impression, International Review of Education, Vol. VI, 1960, No. 2, p. 239.

and (viii) specialized educational agencies in charge of public examinations and awards, the screening and approval or the preparation and publication of textbooks and teaching aids, the development and renewal of curriculum and resource centres.

Other than primary and secondary schools, and, to some extent, teacher training and technical institutions, the other institutions at the operational level are not directly subject to the four levels we have already discussed. Their relationship with the policy-making and the executive levels ranges from complete independence as, for instance, with universities in many countries (vide Section VI on the administration of universities, etc.) to complete integration as with departments of examination or educational publications which are on a par with the Department of Education. In some cases and this is usually true with apprenticeship and on-the-job training facilities provided by the private sector, the operational functions are governed by the policy-making or the executive level through legislation and compulsion or by means of incentives like tax relief, subsidies, and foreign exchange allowances.

The situation with regard to the administration of schools (both primary and secondary) is very different. In the past the school, too, claimed a substantial degree of autonomy. That was the opinion of Bishop Weldon, who as the Headmaster of Harrow at the beginning of the century, urged:

> "the society of a public school is a world in itself, self-centred, self-satisfied. It takes but slight account of the principles and practices which obtain in the world of men. It has its own laws, its own fashions, its own accepted code of morals."(1)

But the role of the school has since changed immensely. It can no longer be 'self-centred' and 'self-satisfied'; nor can it be aloof from 'the world of men'. The school has become an integral part of the national effort in economic, social and cultural development. With this change, the position of the head of the school and the teachers, too, has undergone a considerable transformation. With the net-work of policy-making and directing agencies controlling the school and the increasing role of both parents and pupils in its affairs, the headmaster or the teacher is no more an absolute monarch in his school or his classroom.

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(1) Both quoted by W.O. Lester Smith, loc.cit., pp. 90-91.

The head of the school is legally an agent as well as an employee of the authority which maintains the school. He is responsible to them for the smooth functioning of the school and the fulfilment of the objectives of the authority. These objectives, as discussed earlier, may range from meeting a growing social demand for education to producing profit. The agency of the authority nearest the school (i.e. the Regional or District Education Office or Local Educational Authority in respect of public schools and the management of private and denominational schools), ensures, by means of varying degrees of administrative control, that the principal or headmaster carries out its wishes, directions and procedures.

In some instances, he will be subordinate to a manager, who directs the administrative and financial affairs of the school and whose prior approval has to be obtained for any deviation from established routine. In certain public school systems, the inspector or supervisor assumes such a managerial role and controls all administrative actions of the head of the school.

A new tendency, observed in many countries, is the establishment of lay boards, representing the clientele of the school, as Boards of Governors or Management with over-all supervisory powers over the head of the school or as Welfare Boards or Advisory Councils, with specified functions, to assist him. But, sometimes, they become impediments rather than aids to development, for the general practice is to make them replicas in miniature of the community or the controlling authority faithfully reproducing the same cultural, racial, religious and political divisions and dominance of power. The head of the school is, thus made responsible to a higher authority in all administrative matters.

The control over the head of the school and the teachers is not always restricted to administrative functions, although some countries, particularly Britain, make a distinction between the externa or the fabric of the educational system and the interna or the work that takes place between teachers and pupils in the classroom (i.e. curricula, courses of study, methods of instruction and standards of achievement).(1) Although theoretically most countries leave the interna to the discretion of the head of the school and his teachers for local initiative and adaptation, in practice that freedom is curtailed by many factors, viz:

(a) the compelling desire to maintain a uniformity in methods and standards with competing schools;
(b) the reluctance of parents to expose their children as 'guinea pigs' to experimentation and innovations;
(c) the availability - even when no compulsion to observe is involved - of detailed instructional material and didactic literature issued by the Ministry or such other authority;
(d) the system of inspection, specially when the merit-grading of teachers is a function of such inspection;
(e) the uniformity of treatment of subjects in standard textbooks;
(f) the examination system, based on detailed syllabuses.

In those educational systems (i) where the efficiency of a head of school or a teacher is judged by the performance of the pupils at public examinations, (ii) where the observance of Ministry syllabuses and teaching material is obligatory and (iii) the system of inspection is rigid, the function of the head of the school becomes primarily an administrative task of seeing that instructions and directions from above are faithfully carried out.

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(1) J.L. Kandel, 'The New Era in Education - A Comparative Study', Harrap, 1954 (reprinted 1966), p. 125.

Educational administration at the school level is further complicated by the fact that the head of the school has to perform several contradictory roles. In most countries - U.S.A. being a notable exception - he continues to have teaching responsibility for at least part of his time. As the agent of the educational authority, he exercises supervisory and controlling authority over teachers and other employees of the school. As the leader of the school community, he represents teachers and other employees to the educational authority, he is "caught in the administrative vise between authority and the school community".(1) The effectiveness he achieves in his functions is determined by the relationships he, as an institutional administrator, has with the higher levels of educational administration and the community.

The relationship between the institutional administrator (i.e. all heads of educational institutions, including schools) and policy-making and executive levels is usually one of the following:

(i) remote control exercised by the higher levels with only one-way communications in the form of directives;

(ii) direct and frequent contact between the higher levels and the institutional administrator, so that the latter has opportunities to get clarifications of directives and offer his informal suggestions and comments;

(iii) established procedure to provide the institutional administrator with information relevant to policy directives and to enable him to be consulted, if not directly at least on a representational basis;

(iv) sophisticated 'feedback' arrangements so that the institutional administrator, directly or on a representational basis, is given opportunities to influence policy-making.

No arguments are necessary to establish the fact that the degree of interest and enthusiasm displayed by an institutional administrator depends of the opportunities he is given to influence directly or indirectly the formation of policies which affect his sphere of activities.

His immediate contact, however, is with the operation-supervisory level. Here, his relationship can be threefold:

(i) rigid conformity with not only the specific directives or wishes but also with attitudes and opinions which he assumes to be those of the inspectorate;

(ii) mutual co-operation and collaboration in experimentation and innovation;

(iii) hostility when the inspectorate is assumed to be an interfering and unhelpful agency.

The ideal relationship which should exist between them (as discussed earlier, vide, pages 46-48) has rarely been achieved and, in most countries, this remains quite a stumbling block in the way of educational development.

But the most important among all are the institutional administrator's relationships with:

(i) teachers and other employees;

(ii) pupils;

(iii) the public.

It is here that the formal organizations of the educational system comes in conflict with several informal organizations of society. To the parties most intimately connected with education, the institution - i.e. the university, college or school - is 'the formal organization' as defined by Talcott Parsons: he says,

> "A formal organization in the present sense is a mechanism by which goals somehow important to the society or to various sub-systems of it, are implemented and to some degree defined. But not only does such an organization have to operate in a social environment which imposes the conditions governing the

> process of disposal and procurement, it is also part of a wider social system which is the source of the 'meaning' legitimation, or higher-level support which makes the implementation of the organization's goals possible. Essentially, this means that just as a technical organization ... is controlled and 'serviced' by a managerial organization, so, in turn, is the managerial organization controlled by the 'institutional' structure and agencies of the community."(1)

At the level of the institution, teachers and other employees represent the technical organization, the institutional administrator, the managerial organization and the parents and the community the institutional organization. But in reality there are no such direct and simple associations among the three organizations. Each has its own controlling agencies in the wide world of the national system of education; e.g. the teacher as a technician is controlled by the pedagogical machinery of the Ministry, the institutional administrator by its administrative machinery and the public is subject to the national political organization. But at the level of the institution, the proximity of the three organizations leads to close contact and interaction as though they were not bound by any external organizations. When the current educational upheaval reported from different countries is analysed carefully, one sees very clearly that the conflicts among these three organizations, in which pupils waver in their loyalty to one or another, are caused by a mutual confusion over each organization's limitations.

In the tumultous situation caused by that confusion, the institutional administrator has to fulfil simultaneously expectations of different groups. It is not surprising, therefore, that principals of schools were found to have developed contradictory patterns of behaviour in respect of each group.(1) Whereas Robert P. Moser considers the institutional administrator to be "a member of two organizational families", he really belongs to all three. It is his task to maintain an equilibrium among them as far as the institution is concerned, and in this role he is a leader who has, like a catalyst, to help and stimulate the others to achieve their common goals. His work is all the more complicated by the existence of informal structures, not necessarily as healthy supplements to the formal organization or as special arrangements for the psychological welfare of the group concerned, but primarily as subversive to the formal organization.(2) The inevitable conflict of their objectives, values and methodology requires him to organize these groups so that he gets their co-operation in the manner most helpful to the institution.(3)

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(1) Andrew W. Halpin, 'Administrative Theory in Education', Midwest Administration Center, University of Chicago, 1958, p. 44.

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(1) Robert P. Moser, 'The Leadership Patterns of School Superintendents and School Principals', Administrators Notebook Vl, September 1957, pp. 1-4. Principals displayed 'nomothetic' behaviours (stressing goal achievement, institutional regulations, centralized authority) in dealing with superintendents and 'ideographic' behaviours (stressing individual needs and wants, minimum rules, decentralized authority) in his interaction with teachers.

(2) Cf. "The work of co-operation is not a work of leadership, but of organization as a whole ... Co-operation, not leadership is the creative process; but leadership is the indispensable fulminator of its forces."
Chester J. Bernard, 'The Functions of the Executive', p. 259.

(3) Cf. the three orientations to informal organization; Iannaccone; 63rd Year Book of the National Society for the Study of Education, p. 223.

At least teachers and parents have been organized around the institution by means of such traditional means as staff meetings, teachers' guilds and parent-teacher associations. But the manner in which they are utilized as tools of administration varies according to the ingenuity of individual institutional administrators.

The involvement of pupils remains, on the whole, an unsatisfactory feature. Here, the conventional attitude to pupils as raw-material entrusted to technicians to be processed into finished goods dies hard and even in institutions where the level of maturity of the pupils enables them to make a contribution they are rarely consulted. But in several countries, the pupils are being associated with the administrative process specially in areas, such as student welfare and discipline, in which they have shown much competence. As René Maheu has argued, the opinions of the students may not always be technically perfect but they are psychologically very important. (vide p. 8).

The relationship between an educational institution and the community is not always for the benefit of the institution or the facility of its administration. In most countries - particularly the developing countries - it represents the only source of technical, scientific and cultural information that the community has at its disposal and the personnel of the institution forms the intellectual elite of society. The leadership of the educational institution in all forms of community activities (agriculture, industry, rural reconstruction, health and hygiene, self-help, family planning, co-operative movement, etc.), is being accepted as vital to national development. Thus the educational institution is required to maintain good public relations. This is being achieved by its participation in religious, cultural and social occasions, functions and festivities as well as by mobilizing its resources in times of natural calamities, e.g. floods, earthquakes, epidemics. Sometimes, the participation of an educational institution in community activities may be restricted to allowing the use of its plant and facilities for programmes of non-formal education. This, again, can vary from the sophisticated agricultural extension programmes of the Land Grant Colleges of U.S.A. to merely allowing a school hall to be used for an adult literacy class. But in any case, the institutional administrator is obliged to include among his duties a wide variety of functions much of which cannot be in any way defined or even anticipated. Unlike any other administrator within the national educational system, the institutional administrator has to be prepared for any contingency. His is, no doubt, the trickiest and, of course, the toughest job.

VI. Administration of Universities and Colleges, etc.

The administration of universities, colleges and other seats of higher education has evolved into several distinctive patterns, most of which display the following features:

(a) freedom from direct political interference;
(b) involvement of lay persons in policy-making;
(c) participation of teachers either in the general or, at least, in the academic administration;
(d) autonomy in relation to courses of study and methods;
(e) a measure of co-operation and collaboration among institutions based on mutual recognition of awards, accreditation etc.

Vast changes are taking place everywhere in the administration of higher education. The State in recent years has not only become the principal benefactor of higher educational institutions but has also begun to accept and exercise its responsibility for both adequacy and quality of higher education. With the marked increase in governmental support, the role of the State in 'calling the tune' is advocated and resisted with equal vigour.

Public accountability of state-aided seats of higher education is a major point of controversy in countries where they have been traditionally autonomous. But certain compromises have been worked out in most of them to ensure a degree of State direction, which, of course, is disguised in the form of grants, contracts and special assistance programmes. Special agencies like University Grant Committees or Commissions of Britain, India and East Africa, or the Academic Council of Netherlands or the National Council of Higher Education in Ceylon or the Office of the University Chancellor in Sweden have assumed a co-ordinating function as an intermediate administrative unit between the State and the seats of higher learning.

The gulf between the State and the administration of higher education is being rapidly narrowed and, even outside socialist states, Ministers of Education as well as other state executives are beginning to perform specific executive functions like the appointment and discontinuance of heads of universities and colleges.

The latest group to contend for a share in the administration of these institutions is the student body. The agitation for 'student power' has been a significant feature of the student unrest experienced in most of the countries. The participation of students in the administration is being provided for in many of them and the 1968 legislation of France is a notable case in point.

The administrative organization of universities and colleges is governed by a traditional heirarchy of officials, working for the most part in committees or statutory bodies. A semblance of democracy is inherent in their decision-making process. The head of the institution is, for the most part, a primus inter pares, whose leadership in administrative decisions is displayed by good chairmanship. A similar process is in operation at the level of faculties and departments where the Dean and the head of department perform their major functions as chairmen of committees. Universities and colleges are collectively managed by academicians who are, usually, not professional administrators and, sometimes, not interested in the over-all administrative problems of the institution. In fact, many of them consider their administrative role to be not only of secondary importance but also an imposition which adversely interferes with their research and teaching functions. Similarly, the lay persons, who are appointed to various authorities of universities and colleges, are far too busy in their own affairs to be able to study the intricate problems of administration or are swayed by the thought that the teachers with their eminence in scholarship should know better what they need. As a result of these two factors, the administration of higher education in almost all countries has been subject to harsh criticism.

> "They charge", says Philip H. Coombs, "that the universities have in fact perverted and foresaken their social trust. Instead of seeking new truths, they have busied themselves building academic ramparts to protect old beliefs. Instead of keeping merely at arm's length from society's untidy confusion, they have removed themselves astronomical distances from the urgent problems of society on which their help is needed. Instead of guarding their autonomy as a prerequisite for honest and productive intellectual effort, they have fiercely defended that autonomy as a privilege and an end itself. Instead of moulding today's youth to be tomorrow's solvers of society's problems, they have trained and encouraged youth to escape from these self-same problems."(1)

The need to overhaul the administration of universities and colleges is both real and urgent. Again, in the words of Philip H. Coombs:

> "the majority of universities in the world have yet to instal a modern system of internal management in which administrators, teachers and students all play appropriate roles."(2)

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(1) Philip H. Coombs, 'The World Educational Crisis - A Systems Analysis', Oxford University Press, 1968, p. 157.

(2) Ibid, p. 125

Colleges of technology and other technical institutions are less handicapped by tradition and convention. But they, too, share many of the administrative problems of universities and colleges, the most important among them being the need to compete with industry for the administrative and professional talent they need. Seats of higher technical learning are rarely managed by lay persons, for even those appointed from outside are usually persons with a technical and professional background and experience. The fact that most technical institutions are specialized (e.g. agriculture, medicine, engineering, etc.) enables the decision-makers to be drawn from a homogeneous group which is generally conversant with the problems of the speciality. Further, these institutions work directly under the supervision and control of or in close liaison with the government departments which are responsible for the type of training they give. They are, often, closely associated with the profession or the industry whose manpower requirements they meet. Thus, they maintain a greater correlation between their work and the needs of society.

D. External Pressures on Educational Administration

Educational administration at every level is subject to external pressures, generated by: (a) political ideologies; (b) politicians; (c) lobbies; (d) international agencies and movements; (e) foreign aid. They influence decisions both by encouraging those in their favour and resisting those against or contrary to their interests. But their influence is not always overt and measurable. In many instances, it is so subtle and so slow in manifesting itself that the real source of innovation is hardly discernible. This is particularly the case with the effect foreign aid and technical assistance has on educational administration.

The impact of political ideologies is most noticeable in socialist states, where the administrative machinery in education is, as already discussed, made subservient or closely intertwined with the party organization. The aim of education in both the USSR and the People's Republic of China has been announced to be the formation of a communist society and this is achieved by involving party personnel specially in the teaching and development of political subjects.(1)

Impressed with the success that pre-war Germany, Italy and Japan had attained in the indoctrination of the younger generation, many countries have not only written the propagation of democratic political ideals into their educational objectives but developed courses in civics and citizenship to ensure it. The prominent feature of 'acculturation' in the American educational system is another example of the role political ideologies play in education. The ways and means by which political indoctrination is attempted and accomplished range from clumsy and somewhat crude propaganda in some countries to the subtle saturation of the curriculum as one observes in the U.S.A.(2) Whatever the method be, the educational administration is obliged to use the educational system to propagate the ideologies supported by the powers that be.

A recent tendency is to widen the ideological horizon from parochial political views to such universal concepts as international understanding, world peace and human rights, as are emphasized by international agencies and parleys;

> "Education shall", states the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, "promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace."(3)

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(1) Cf. "The secretaries and members of the Party Committee should do their best to take up the teaching of political subjects and research work" People's Daily (China) of September 1958. Quoted in Reller and Morphet, loc.cit. p. 288.

(2) Cf. George Z.F. Bereday and Bonnie B. Stretch, 'Political Education in the U.S.A. and the USSR', Comparative Education Review, Vol. 7, No. 1, (June 1963) pp. 9-16.

(3) Article 26, paragraph 2.

We have already discussed the role of the politician as a part of the legislature or the executive. Outside these organizations, too, the politician continues to exert a tremendous degree of influence on educational administration. The pressure he brings to bear on education is characterized by three factors:

(i) The average politician is more concerned with matters of local interest directly and immediately affecting the narrow reference group from which he derives his power. "I am no doubt obliged to look after the educational interests of the whole country" said a Minister of Education of Ceylon, "but I must remember that I will continue to be the Minister only if my Party remains in power and, moreso, if my electorate returns me as its representative, at the next election".

(ii) He invariably concentrates on quick, short-term results and prefers projects, which bring demonstrable results in time for the next election, to those which promise greater good in the long run.

(iii) He believes in compromise, rather than in controversies or rigid standpoints. He is usually in agreement with Edmund Burke, who says, "All government, indeed every human benefit and enjoyment, every virtue and every prudent act, is founded on compromise and barter. We balance inconveniences; we give and take; we remit some rights that we may enjoy others; and we choose rather to be happy citizens than subtle disputants".(1)

Of course, there is a fourth factor which may, however, not be universally imputed to all politicians or only to politicians; that is, the tendency to place political expediency above public good and, in some cases, to allow personal or party gains to cloud their judgments and condition their actions (e.g. corruption, political patronage and victimization, nepotism, etc.).

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(1) Edmund Burke, Speeches on America (edited by A.D. Junes), Cambridge University Press, 1906, p. 149.

While a politician's undue interference is and should be resisted by the administration, it is compelled to take note of and also respect his insistence on local and parochial needs, short-term results and compromise. The difficulties of the administration in this respect is made worse when the politician advocates a policy of 'hastening slowly' every time innovations are introduced. In the words of C.K. Allen,

> "Very often, the majority opinion /‾in a Democracy_7 ... has to administer its medicine in homeopathic doses. Hence the 'time-lag', so exasperating to the reformer who has no doubts about the efficacy of his remedies and his policies."(1)

It is often observed that politicians and administrators work at cross purposes. Even though the latter comes second best in any major dispute, the conflict, in itself, is of very great value, for it is usually resolved by the discovery of a via media between political expediency or over-enthusiasm and bureaucratic inertia.

Lobbies which apply pressure at all levels of educational administration are numerous and the methods they adopt to make themselves effective vary from discussion and pursuasion to threats of political reprisal, publicity (belligerently called 'exposure') being one of their major weapons. Educational lobbies in most countries comprise:

(i) racial or communal minorities, demanding such rights as the recognition of their language and culture, the proportional distribution of employment and educational opportunities, special measures of restitution to enable them to take their place in society etc.;

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(1) Edmund Burke, Speeches on America (edited by A.D. Junes), Cambridge University Press, 1906, p. 149.

(ii) religious or cultural groups claiming their right for religious and cultural identity and agitating for the preservation of existing privileges or the granting of new ones;

(iii) industrial and commercial establishments like producers of textbook and teaching aids and manufacturers and suppliers of equipment, fittings and apparatus, who constantly watch changes in educational practices, curricula, examination systems, etc., from the point of view of their impact on business;

(iv) trade unions of officers, teachers and other employees, which are usually concerned with salaries and conditions of service;

(v) parent-teacher associations as well as public organizations interested in the welfare of pupils and children;

(vi) alumni or past pupils' associations and organizations agitating usually for the preservation of tradition and the development of their particular institutions: and

(vii) student movements, which, in recent times, have begun to examine the relevance and the efficacy of the education imparted to them.

The administration often finds these lobbies to be useful sounding boards. They are consulted on major policy issues.

In the USSR, for instance, standard regulations on such matters as rights and duties of institutional administrators are referred for approval to the central committee of the trade union of workers in education while local councils of workers' deputies exercise control over conditions of education and assist the administration.(1) In the UAR, according to Abdul-Aziz El-Koussy:

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(1) IIEP, 'Educational Planning in the USSR', p. 41.

> "no decision has been arbitrarily taken in recent years, because it is realized that decisions with no public participation and no background of evidence are doomed to failure."

But lobbies are not without troublesome aspects; they prove to be a nuisance when they are so deeply engulfed in their narrow parochial interests that they fail or even refuse to see the overall problems. On such occasions, the administration has to adopt appropriate methods of dealing with them; it is here that the administrator's capacity to mix authoritativeness with humility in correct proportions comes handy.

The other two sources of pressure on educational administration lie outside a country. International agencies such as Unesco, IBE, Unicef, Colombo Plan, OECD exercise their influence by means of:

(i) conferences, seminars and workshops, which promote the interaction and cross-fertilization of ideas and opinions of educational administrators, and which establish guidelines for their action in respect of specific problems;

(ii) country studies, international comparisons, and such other research publications which enable the administrators to identify their problems and to decide on possible courses of action;

(iii) fellowships and travel grants, which help an administrator to pursue studies in depth as well as to see for himself how his counterparts elsewhere tackle their problems;

(iv) technical assistance, whereby the experience of trained personnel as well as modern equipment is made available to countries which need them, and

(v) declarations, conventions and charters by which national governments are pursuaded to accept and abide by universally applicable policies.

Constant participation in the activities of international agencies has an enlightening effect on an administrator, which, though imperceptible, exerts a considerable influence on his attitudes and actions.

Apart from the agencies where governments of different countries are members, there are today numerous organizations through which teachers, textbook writers, publishers and students have established international relationships with their counterparts. Jointly and severally, they influence educational administration either by constituting themselves as lobbies or by guiding the representations of local lobbies. An extension of this principle to institutions is observed in international associations and boards of universities. Though still very meagre, the present tendency among universities, colleges and even schools to link themselves with foreign institutions for mutual co-operation may also develop, in due course, to a source of pressure on educational administration.

Foreign aid, both multilateral and bilateral, has, as already indicated, a subtle effect; no other single factor has compelled the educational administration to take a closer look at itself and the national system of education and to set its house in order than the need to apply for a substantial loan or grant from a source of foreign aid. A flagrant example of the impact of foreign aid is the growing interest in educational planning and the attention paid to educational statistics and research. The frequent missions for project identification and appraisal, too, have, in many countries, contributed to appreciable improvement in educational administration as well as to pin-point its major weaknesses and deficiencies.

CHAPTER II

Impact of Planning on Educational Administration

A. The Organization for Educational Planning

Most writers on the subject of planning tend to assert that planning as a conscious human activity is as old as man himself and trace the evolution of civilization to his capacity to anticipate, visualize and conceptualize things. Some even list documented instances in history to show how planning was resorted to in diverse spheres.(1) But planning as a specific administrative function is of recent origin. When Henri Fayol defined administration as a process of planning, organizing, commanding, co-ordinating and controlling(2) and Luther Gulick and Lyndall Urwick elaborated it in their famous mnemonic, POSDCORB, as planning, organizing, staffing, directing, co-ordinating, reporting and budgeting(3), they all had only a very ristricted concept of planning: Fayol considered it to be the process of studying the future and arranging the plan of operations; the other two defined it as working out in broad outline the things that need to be done and the methods of doing them to accomplish the purpose set out for the enterprise. In their concept, planning was associated more with individual operations within an industry or a bureaucratic organization. From this narrow view of planning, it has now come to mean a "process of preparing a set of decisions for action in the future directed at achieving goals by optimal means for the over-all economic and social development of a country."(1)

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(1) Cf. The World Year Book of Education 1967 - Educational Planning, University of London Institute of Education and Teachers College, Columbia University, 1967, pp. 1-2.

(2) Fayol, General and Industrial Management, London, Pitman and Sons, 1949, p. 6.

(3) Gulick and Urwick, Papers on the Science of Administration, New York, Institute of Public Administration, 1937, p. 13.

The evolution of this broad concept of planning was, quite paradoxically, both encouraged and retarded by the spectacular success which planned development achieved in socialist countries, where, "planning is built in as a way of life".(2) The importance attached to planning in the socialist system is evident from the emphasis which is laid on economic development; enumerating the immediate tasks of his regime, V.I. Lenin said,

> "The task of state administration which has now become the first priority of the Soviet regime has this further special feature that - possibly for the first time in the modern history of civilized peoples - we have to tackle the problem of setting up a form of government where preference in order of importance will be given not to politics but to economics."(3)

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(1) G. Yehezkel Dror, 'The Planning Process: a Facet Design', The International Review of Administrative Sciences, Vol. XXIX, No. 1 (1963) pp. 46-58, for the commonly used definitions of planning. Definitions of the following are quoted: Karl Stefanie-Allmayer, William H. Newmann, Luther Gulick, Charles E. Merriam, Harold Koontz, Cyril O'Donnel, Robert A. Dahl, Ch. Touretzki, Dwight Waldo, John Friedmann, Herbert A. Simon, Donald W. Smithburg, Victor A. Thompson, John M. Pfiffner, R. Vance Presthus, and Emmette S. Redford. Cf. also a Handbook of Public Administration, Department of Economics and Social Affairs, United Nations, New York, 1961, p. 91.

(2) Closing address by Malcolm Adiseshiah at the International Conference on Educational Planning, Paris, 14 August 1968, Final Report, Unesco, p. 71.

(3) V.I. Lenin, Works, Vol. 27, p. 219, quoted in IIEP Educational Planning in the USSR, p. 19.

With equal force he stressed the role of the specialist or technocrat in various branches of knowledge, technology and experience,

> "in a deliberate and mass movement forward towards higher labour productivity compared with capitalism, utilizing capitalist achievements."(1)

Working on these principles both the USSR and other socialist countries developed the elaborate planning methodologies and techniques as they proceeded to create what Albert Waterston describes as:

> "a detailed, pervasive and higher centralized administrative system of resource allocation and production based on the quantitative reconciliation of needs and available supplies through a system of 'balances' /̲ i.e. balances in physical and monetary terms for (i) machines, (ii) materials and (iii) manpower ̲/ reaching down to every plant and collective farm."(2)

In spite of the fact that the socialist experience: (a) established the validity of planning as a vital instrument of development and (b) contributed immensely to the perfection of planning techniques; the basic political ideology and methods of control adopted by socialist countries, dissuaded the rest of the world from taking to planning with the zeal and enthusiasm it deserved. The early efforts at or even proposals for planning were obstructed, quite curiously, by both the conservative elements and the official socialist groups. What happened in pre-war France reflects almost the universal situation:

> "The advocates of a free economic system ... regarded planning with mistrust, as one of many forms of blundering interference which did more to perpetuate the evil than to remedy it. For

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(1) Ibid., p. 19.

(2) Albert Waterston, Development Planning - Lessons, IBRD., John Hopkins Press, 1965, p. 45.

their theorists, planning was the first step towards the Soviet type of authoritarian socialism. The Communist leaders, on the other hand, were hostile on principle, for they considered that planning would be futile under a liberal system of government, where the authorities could not intervene forcefully enough."(1)

Due to a variety of factors, such as (a) the part planning, itself, played in the war-time world-wide organization of offensive and defensive establishments and activities; (b) the co-operation among allied powers, committed to different political and economic ideologies, and (c) the advances made in economic theory, which showed how a mixed economy could be helped both by 'indicative planning' and the planned development of the public infrastructure, prejudices against planning began to disappear. But the real filip to planning was given by the dire need felt by the poorer countries - the majority of whom attained nationhood only during the last quarter century - to find ways and means of taking a short cut to economic adequacy.

These nations, in a hurry, saw in planning "the mystique of century skipping".(2) It is, therefore, not surprising that planning found its most devout exponents in or on behalf of developing countries. One of the most devoted adherents to the creed of planning was Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, who called it "the exercise of intelligence to deal with facts and situations as they are and find a way to solve problems"(3), and mobilized popular support for planning saying;

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(1) Pierre Bauchet, Economic Planning - the French Experience, Heinemann, London, 1964, p. 1.

(2) For a discussion on the 'mystique of century skipping', cf. Bertram M. Gross (ed.) Action Under Planning : the Guidance of Economic Development, McGraw Hill, 1967, pp. 7

(3) Quoted in Waterston, loc.cit., p. 8.

> "It is a tremendous task because we want to telescope decades of endeavour and hard work in a much shorter period and we have to work along democratic lines."(1)

In contrast to this attitude, a U.S. Assistant Secretary of State pleads in favour of planning from a different standpoint:

> "The inherent disagreeableness of genuine planning - and the virtue of planning - is that it brings a society's operating values out into the open and forces a deliberate choice among them. Such a choice is undoubtedly more painful than a choice that is made without knowing it but it is also more responsible and its consequences can be examined and controlled."(2)

In fact, these two statements symbolize the fundamental attitude to planning adopted by the developing countries and the industrialized ones: to the latter planning is a convenience or a facility while to the former it promises to be a key to their progress. It is the interest in and on behalf of developing countries that led to the rise of the concept of 'development planning'.

No rough and ready definition of 'development planning' is available, for it seems to have different meanings in different countries, although there is a basic agreement as regards its primary objective of raising the economic level of the country. W. Arthur Lewis, who attempted to sort out the characteristics of development planning in 'development plans' of varying structure and content, concluded:

> "A development plan may contain any or all of the following features: (i) a survey of the current economic situation; (ii) proposals for improving the institutional framework of

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(1) Quoted in Gunnar Myrdal, Asian Drama - An Inquiry into the Poverty of Nations, Pantheon, New York, 1968, Vol. II, p. 869.

(2) University Council for Educational Administration, Towards the Development of a 1969-1974 UCEA Plan for Advancing Educational Administration, Columbus, Ohio, 1967, p. ii.

> economic activity; (iii) a list of proposed government expenditures; (iv) a review of major industries; (v) a set of targets for the private sector; (vi) a macro-economic projection for the whole economy."(1)

Whenever a development plan included a list of proposed government expenditures or a macro-economic projection for the whole economy, education figured in it, but usually in a very insignificant manner. It was usually lumped together with health, unemployment relief and social welfare under the heading of Social Services and it was not uncommon for the economic planner to suggest the curtailment of expenditure on these services as a means of finding funds for investment because education was considered more as consumption than investment.

The reason for relegating education to a secondary place is historical. In Europe, education had been a private enterprise in which the church took a leading role. The State came in only to fill in gaps - that is, to provide an inferior type of education to those who could not afford the real commodity purchasable from private institutions. As education mainly supplied the elite leadership in law, administration, diplomacy and the church, its impact on economic development was neither observed nor emphasized. The fact that the early phases of national development in European countries took place in spite of low rates of literacy and inferior type of education, too, perhaps influenced the attitude towards education. When the European system extended to the rest of the world, that part of education in which the State was interested continued to be viewed as a charitable act - a social service. Suffering from this historical setback, public education took quite some time to be elevated from the rank of an unproductive social service to that of a major factor contributing to the national economic productivity.(1)

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(1) W. Arthur Lewis, 'Development Planning - The Essentials of Economic Policy, George, Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1966, p. 23.

This change of emphasis may be illustrated by reference to the educational objectives written into the First and the Fourth Five-Year Plans of India. In 1954, the planners argued,

> "The educational system has also an intimate bearing on the attainment of the general objectives of the Plan in as much as it largely determines the quality of the manpower and the social climate of the community." and urged, "It is essential for the successful implementation of the Plan that the educational programme helps to train the people to place responsibilities before rights and to keep the self-regarding outlook and the force of the acquisitive instinct within legitimate bounds. The educational system should also satisfy cultural needs, which is essential for the healthy growth of a nation. The system should stimulate the growth of the creative faculties, increase the capacity of enjoyment, and develop a spirit of critical appreciation of arts, literature and other creative activities. The fulfilment of the objectives, mentioned above, will lead to the development of an integrated personality in the individual, which should be the first and foremost aim of any system of education ... The Planning Commission is mainly concerned with viewing education as a part of the total national effort, establishing and strengthening its links with other aspects of national life and assigning priorities for the various educational programmes awaiting implementation."(2)

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(1) Compare the First Five-Year Plan of India (1954) where education is listed with health, housing, labour, social welfare, rehabilitation and employment as a social service and the Second Five-Year Plan of Trinidad and Tobago (1963) where it leads the Plan under the heading 'national productivity'.

(2) Government of India Planning Commission; First Five-Year Plan, New Delhi, 1954, Part VIII, p. 525.

But in 1966, not only did the Planning Commission in its Fourth Five-Year Plan assign education its own independent place in the Plan, but expressing concern that:

> "the Indian educational system has not been sufficiently geared to economic development", observed, "Education as an investment in human resources, plays an important role among the factors which contribute to economic growth. It secures returns in the form of skilled manpower geared to the needs of development and also creates the right attitudes and climate for development. It exposes the farmers and workers to new ideas, stirs their ambition and bends them to change. It seeks to create an environment of discipline, harmony, understanding and team work which is conducive to the implementation of production plans. Both for accelerating economic development and for improving the quality of the society which we are trying to create, it is essential that planning should establish a firm and purposive link between education and development."(1)

The manner in which education figures in the Development Plan of a nation depends on the degree of sophistication it has achieved in planning techniques. Right at the beginning, most plans were nothing more than mere lists of 'priorities' independently and, for the most part, intuitively prepared by administrators with no effort at either consistency or correlation among projects. Even when these type of 'plans' were replaced by sectoral plans, it was often observed that the consistency and correlation which was sought for projects within a sector was not attempted on an inter-sectoral basis. When comprehensive sectoral plans on agriculture, industry and trade are examined, their major defect of ignoring over-arching factors is revealed in the manner in which education is dealt with. Rarely does one see in such plans that education has been adequately recognized as an activity with implications applicable to all sectors. With the increasing interest in economic and social development, the need to correlate the educational effort with that of other sectors was felt.

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(1) Government of India - Planning Commission; Fourth Five-Year Plan - A Draft Outline, New Delhi, 1966, p. 311.

An initial problem encountered at that stage was the difficulty in deciding on educational policies applicable to each country. In several countries - particularly in those with a British colonial background - Commissions or Committees of Inquiry were entrusted with the task of evaluating the existing system on the basis of evidence placed before it by witnesses orally or in writing, making comparisons with other countries by means of official visits to their educational institutions and recommending to the Government a course of action to reform the whole or a specified part of the educational system. Such commissions did not produce anything comparable to an educational plan; but they could in most countries pave the way to educational reforms by identifying specific problems and advancing long-term solutions which influenced the allocation of funds for education for a number of years. Restricted as they were by their terms of reference, which were sometimes far too narrow, these commissions had an advantage over purely official teams in that they could be more critical of the existing system in a detached fashion. They were invariably effective agents of change, whose importance in the absence of over-all educational planning was quite high.

Over-all educational planning, either as a part of the National Development Plan or as an independent plan is characterized by:

(a) an attempt to bring about a balanced development of all sectors of the educational system;

(b) the correlation of the educational effort with the national policy for economic and social development;

(c) an effort to co-ordinate the quantitative expansion necessitated by demographic factors and social demand with the qualitative improvement in content, structure and methods; and

(d) the determination to ensure that the investment in education brings good dividends in the form of the fulfilment of manpower needs, the over-all development of individual and the national economic, social and cultural development;

is a concept of very recent origin. Unesco (particularly the International Institute for Educational Planning) and such other international institutes as the International Bureau of Education have been greatly instrumental in both its development and the continuing search for a methodology for such planning.

As another approach to tracing the development of planning, one may compare the data reported by 75 countries in reply to the IBE questionnaire of 1962(1) with those gathered by Unesco as a preparation for the International Conference on Educational Planning, Paris, 6-14 August 1968.(2) While in 1962, only 40 per cent of the 75 countries had any provision for integral educational planning, 80 per cent of 91 countries could report in 1968 of the existence at national level of an administrative authority responsible for educational planning. Besides 79 countries in 1968 had plans for economic and social development and in 63 of them the educational plan was incorporated in the general plan. In 1962 only a dozen countries could report that they provided programmes for training planners and these too trained personnel for general planning rather than for educational planning. But in 1968, there were national training programmes in 29 countries in addition to the International Institute for Educational Planning in Paris and the four Unesco Regional Centres at Beirut, Dakar, New Delhi and Santiago-de-Chile.

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(1) International Bureau of Education: Educational Planning, XXVth International Conference on Public Education, Geneva, 1962.

(2) Educational Planning - A Survey of Problems and Prospects, Unesco ED/ICEP/3, 4 June 1968.

The best index, however, is an assessment of the progress made in the last few years to eliminate or minimize the obstacles to educational planning which, in 1962, were reported to be the following:

> "It is evident that the main obstacles are the lack of funds, experience and qualified staff. In addition there is a lack of statistical data and documentary material necessary for reliable forecasting and future provision. Some countries mention the difficulties of communication, the too rapid changes or the insecurity in their land, the lack of co-ordination, the decentralization of the education system, and finally, an obstacle of a psychological nature, namely the necessity of proving to the education authorities or the public the value of educational planning. Nor should the effect produced by difficulties of a political, technical or administrative nature be minimized, as they too are hindering the development and general practice of educational planning in the world."(1)

While these problems do exist still in many countries, it is symbolically significant that in 1968 what occupied the attention of the International Conference on Educational Planning was not the psychological obstacles of mistrust of or apathy towards planning but the actual technical issues one meets and wants to overcome when planning is undertaken in earnest.(2) It is abundantly clear that the concept of planning in general and of educational planning in particular have moved away from the realm of 'why and what for?' to that of 'how and how fast?'.

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(1) International Bureau of Education; loc.cit., p. XLIX.

(2) Final Report of International Conference on Educational Planning, Paris, 6-14 August 1968, Unesco, pp. 17-19.

The machinery for planning education has been closely related to the phase of development of the concept of planning. Where 'plans' were only lists individually prepared by various ministries or departments, their compilation from material supplied by institutional and regional administrations was a routine function which required no special machinery. Similarly, when sectoral plans were prepared in agriculture, industry, trade and such other special fields, education was either left out altogether or unco-ordinated information supplied by the Ministry of Education was included in them. It is with the growing recognition of education as a vital factor in the formation and training of human resources for national development that the machinery for educational planning began to receive the special attention of policy-makers and administrators.

There is no uniformity in structure, functions, powers and responsibilities or even nomenclature of educational planning organizations in different countries. In socialist countries planning is conducted on the basis of "democratic centralism"(1) (i.e. a centralized organization with over-riding powers co-ordinates the draft plans of different ministries and departments and prepares a global plan in which education has not only been given its due place but also correlated with other enterprises of the State.)

USSR

For instance, in USSR, it is the Gosplan, which has, among others, two departments for culture and education and for manpower, that functions as the highest central authority for the formulation of a synthesized global plan. The Gosplan, besides laying down the timetable, the procedure and the nature and scope of surveys for the plan, spells out the objectives and also undertakes the final task of confronting needs and targets with means of financing for the dual purpose of (a) finding new resources and

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(1) IIEP; 'Educational Planning in USSR', p. 81.

(b) adjusting priorities as governed by the imperative of financing. Of course, such a planning organization can function efficiently only with a well organized and properly co-ordinated supporting machinery. This has been achieved in USSR by involving every administrative level in the planning process. According to V. Zhamin, the plan for education is drawn up by a whole system of planning bodies, viz: (i) the education ministries of the republics and their local organizations; (ii) the USSR Ministry of Transport; (iii) the USSR Ministry of Culture; (iv) the public health ministries of the republics; (v) the social security ministries of the republics and (vi) other ministries having responsibility for educational establishments. The following are the types of plans that are drawn up for education:

- (i) plan for individual establishments (schools, kindergartens, children's homes, etc.);
- (ii) territorial plans for educational development:
  - (a) regional plans;
  - (b) plans for provinces, territories, autonomous republics;
  - (c) plans for union republics;
  - (d) a plan for the USSR as a whole.

In the composite plan for the development of the local economy and cultural construction of a region, the regional planning commission draws up the following plans for education:

- (a) plan for the development of the primary school;
- (b) plan for the development of seven-year and secondary schools;
- (c) plan for the development of kindergartens, children's playgrounds and children's homes;
- (d) plan for the general educational training of adults;
- (e) capital investment plan;
- (f) financial plan.(1)

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(1) Ibid. p. 101.

The task of synthesizing all these draft plans and proposals is the responsibility of the Gosplan which:

(a) carries out, in co-operation with the Ministry of Higher Education and Secondary Specialized Education (with the USSR Ministry of Education since 1967), on the one hand, and the Council of Minister's State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education, on the other, a critical appraisal os these proposals and their co-ordination. (This work calls for numerous exchanges of views with the authors of the draft plans; it leads to an adjustment, upwards or downwards, of the requirements as expressed.);

(b) translates the requirements into specific plans. (These plans are divided by republic, year by year, by groups of specialty and by type of instruction.).

When final adjustments are made to ensure the consistency of the plan in all its aspects, the Gosplan submits a summary report to the Council of Ministers of USSR and finally to the Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

After the decisions of Union authorities the plan moves downwards to all Union-ministries, republican ministries, regions and districts for implementation. Certain targets in the plan are minima in that republics which have additional local resources may increase them.(1) Of course, there is an important factor which enables USSR to operate such an extensive and multiple planning machinery: each plan is only a concrete expression of the programme of the Communist Party, which, as the Unesco/IIEP team observes, constitutes a 'master plan'.(2) The monolithic political structure gives the socialist planning organizations an over-riding authority and ensures unwavering co-operation at all levels of implementation.

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(1) Ibid. pp. 234-238.

(2) Ibid. p. 234.

As we have already observed, both exponents and opponents of planning a few decades ago considered such a system of rigid control and organization as an indispensable adjunct to planning. It is true that the progress made by socialist countries has established this point quite strongly. But the search for other methods was, however, not discouraged. Hence the efforts made outside socialist countries to undertake planning without any ideological commitment to authoritarian control and direction.

India

The administrative organization for planning in India differs substantially from that of socialist countries. Following the example of the U.S.A., education in India is a subject constitutionally reserved to the States, while social and economic planning is a 'concurrent subject' (i.e. where powers of legislation are vested concurrently in both the Union and the State Governments). The Central Planning Commission, created in 1950, by a resolution of the Government of India, has neither constitutional nor statutory authority of its own. While its status is that of an advisory body to the Cabinet, its composition (i.e. the Prime Minister as ex-officio Chairman, the Ministers of Planning and Finance as ex-officio members and the Cabinet Secretary as ex-officio Secretary) makes it an effective machinery of the Government. Its functions include:

(i) making an assessment of the material, capital and human resources of the country, including technical personnel, and investigating the possibilities of augmenting such of these resources, as are found to be deficient in relation to the nation's requirements;

(ii) formulating a plan for the most effective and balanced utilization of the country's resources;

(iii) determining the nature of the machinery which would be necessary for securing the successful implementation of each stage of the plan in all its aspects.

The Central Planning Commission was expected to serve as an advisory body both to the Union and the State Governments and, in fact, it wields a very large influence in shaping the State plans in all sectors including education. The magnitude of the planning operations in India required very soon a decentralized organization with delegated authority to both functional and territorial levels. Planning cells in Central Ministries, Departments of Planning in the States and planning organizations right down to district and block (i.e. division) level, came into existence as a result of such decentralization. With India's explicit policy of planning on strict principles of democracy and its absence of a unifying political structure(1), an effective machinery for co-ordination was necessary:

(a) between the Centre and the States;
(b) among the States;
(c) between the Central Planning Commission and the Planning Cells of Central Ministries;
(d) between Central Planning Commission and the State Ministries;
(e) between the State Planning Departments and State Ministries;
(f) among districts, and
(g) among blocks.

With regard to (a) and (b), the problem of co-ordination is solved by the creation of the National Development Council. This high-powered body consists of the Prime Minister of India, the Chief Ministers of all the States and members of the Central Planning Commission. The Central Government Ministers, too, participate in its deliberations. Co-ordination between the Central Planning Commission and the State Ministries is achieved through the State

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(1) At early stages, the fact that a single political party was in power at the Centre and the States did help planning. But such a condition no longer obtains in India.

Departments of Planning which are entrusted with the formulation of the development plan for the State as a whole. While co-ordination at district and block levels is a function of district collectors and block development officers, the liaison among the Central Planning Commission and the Planning Cells of Central Ministries as well as between the State Planning Departments and State Ministers is ensured through a system of working parties. These working parties (there were 22 to formulate the Third Five-Year Plan and 45 for the Fourth Five-Year Plan) are appointed by the Central Planning Commission and comprise members and officials of the Planning Commission and Ministers and officials of the ministries. They provide forums for an effective and continuous exchange of ideas among them. Moreover, in order to ensure the fullest co-operation between the ministries and the Planning Commission, the Secretary of the Ministry, mainly concerned with the subject is appointed as the Chairman of the Working Group. In addition to these bodies, there are also other specialized organizations, a Research Programme Committee which conducts, directs and sponsors research projects relevant to planning, the Directorate of Manpower and the Institute of Applied Manpower Research, which prepare manpower projections to be used in ministry estimates and draft plans and the Committee on Projects and the Programme Evaluation Organization which evaluate plans.

In this vast planning machinery, education is handled by one of the eight divisions in the Central Planning Organization, concerned with social subjects. For the formulation of the Fourth Five-Year Plan (1966-1970), two working groups, each with several sub-groups were established to study and report on general education and technical education.(1) In spite of the democratic structure of the planning machinery in India, it has not been able to check the tendency to centralize which seems to be inherent in planning. In the opinion of J.P. Naik,

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(1) For a fuller discussion see Bulletin of the Unesco Regional Office for Education in Asia, Bangkok, Vol. III No. 1 (September 1968) pp. 71-85.

> "In the new technique of planning that has now been adopted, more and more decisions tend to be taken at the Centre than in the States. The decisions on national targets, the fixation of priorities, the allocation of resources to different sectors of development or even to different programmes within the same sector of development, the allocation of resources to different States, the fixation of Central assistance to each State - these and such other problems are mainly decided by the Planning Commission and all these affect educational policies so largely that a State Government is very often required not to prepare an educational plan, but to fill in the blanks or details of a structure whose broad irrevocable outline has already been decided elsewhere. It is these developments that have contributed most to the trend to centralize in education during the last ten years and it is because of them that the responsibility of States for education has been most weakened."(1)

France

Another example of a centralized planning organization, which, however, is not complicated by a Federal constitution as in USSR or India, is the Commissariat général du Plan of France. With a strong private sector, which makes economic decisions on its own initiative, the approach to planning in France has to be both cautious and liberal. As Pierre Massé defined it,

> "it is the search for a middle path, reconciling the attachment to liberty and the individual initiative with a common orientation towards development."

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(1) J.P. Naik, loc.cit., p. 137.

The French administrative organization reflects this attitude both in its set-up and its ramifications embracing all aspects of national activity. The central instrument for planning is the Commissariat général du Plan, headed by a Commissioner-General who is appointed by decree as the permanent delegate of the Prime Minister to the ministerial departments for all aspects of the preparation of the Plan and is responsible for drafting proposals to be submitted for consideration by the Interministerial Committee. The organization of the Commissariat is extremely flexible and lends itself easily to be adapted for various planning tasks. It comprises three 'horizontal' divisions (namely, financing, regional development and economic) and several 'vertical' sections dealing with agriculture, transport, industry, social equipment, etc.

Whenever a new Plan is to be prepared, the Commissariat sets up and directs a number of consultative groups called the 'Commissions de Modernisation' - an original feature in the French planning machinery. These commissions, too, are either 'vertical' as in the case of the 17 commissions each corresponding to a large branch of economic activity and the six commissions corresponding to different sectors of collective investments(1) or 'horizontal' as in the case of the Manpower Commission, which is charged with the function of ensuring the coherence of the objectives of the Plan with the quantitative and qualitative resources of manpower. The 'Commission de l'Economie Générale et du financement', presided over by the Commissioner-General is responsible for the synthesis and the consistency of the Plan. These commissions consist of representatives of the administration, business leaders, experts and wage-earners and as observed by Pierre Bauchet;

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(1) Vertical commissions, e.g. agriculture, craftsmanship, building and public works, fuel, chemistry, trade etc., and cultural investment, investment on schools, universities and sports, urban development, radio and television etc.

> "The active participation of all those concerned, and of the different ministries, which too often tend to work in watertight compartments, is noteworthy in itself ... There is no hard-and-fast rule as to the proportion in which the different groups are represented. All this takes us a long way from the established attitude of parliamentary democracy, and emphasizes the desire for collective rather than majority decisions."(1)

The planning operation begins with 'vertical' commissions investigating conditions of growth in their respective branches and the 'horizontal' commissions classifying the information so prepared to ensure the fundamental equilibrium of manpower, balance of payments, savings and investments, etc. The reports of these commissions are then amalgamated by the Commissariat and the 'Services des études Economiques et Financiers' of the Ministry of Finance. The preparation of the final report in consultation with the commissions, and the ministries concerned and its submission to the Government is the function of the 'Commission de l'Equilibre et du Financement'. After the Government has settled controversial points of policy, the 'Conseil Supérieur du Plan' takes over and presents the Plan to a plenary session of the 'Conseil Economique et Social'. Finally, the Plan is submitted for parliamentary approval.

Educational planning is, in France, a common function of the central planning organization and the Ministry of National Education. The Secretariat Général of the Education Ministry performs three principal planning functions:

(a) financial studies relating to the preparation of the plan (Le Service du Budget);

(b) researches into content and methods of education, professional qualifications, etc. (Bureau des programmes de recherches), and

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(1) Pierre Bauchet; loc.cit., p. 35.

(c) the administrative control and co-ordination of the elaboration and execution of the Plan (Le Service du Plan Scolaire et Universitaire).

The actual preparation of the Plan is undertaken by the 'vertical' Commission de l'Equipement scolaire universitaire et sportif, appointed by the Commissariat du Plan. Both the Chairman and the Rapporteur Général of the Commission are usually not connected with the Ministry of National Education and are up to now always selected from among the members of the Conseil d'Etat. The Commission reconstitutes itself into several sub-commissions. For instance, for the preparation of the Fifth Plan (1966-1970), it established six sub-commissions as follows:

(i) enrolments - presided over by the Chairman of the Manpower Commission and in charge of the establishment of objectives for different levels of educations and the estimate of enrolments at the end of the plan period;

(ii) investments - to study the norms of construction and unit costs and to determine the amount of investment;

(iii) implementation of investments - to study the measures to be taken in administrative and technical domains for the quickest and the cheapest execution of programmes of investments;

(iv) teaching personnel - to estimate, on objectives determined, the requirements of teaching personnel and the measures to facilitate their recruitment;

(v) additional means and social services - to treat all problems of aiding education, e.g. scholarships, lodgings, restaurants, etc.

(vi) the youth and sports - to establish programmes of investment in services relating to the youth and sports.

Besides, several 'inter-groupes' were created to establish liaison among different commissions, e.g. those on training, handicapped children, and hospital and university centres. But the work is so co-ordinated that R. Poignant could say;

> "Although the Commission de l'Equipment scolaire functions at the Commissariat du Plan and under the direction of a President and a Rapporteur General dependent on the Commissariat du Plan, its work is not 'exterior' to the Ministry of National Education for, as we have seen, most of the studies which serve as the basis for the preparation of the Plan are done by the services of national education and the responsible authorities of the Ministry are associated in the elaboration of decisions right along the process."(1)

It is interesting to note that one of the principal factors which has contributed to the smooth working of this elaborate planning machinery in France is that the Commissariat du Plan, in spite of the extensive powers vested in it, has chosen to function more as a meeting place for all ministries rather than an over-riding co-ordinating agency.

Sweden

As compared with the French planning machinery, the organization recently introduced in Sweden is marked by the direct role played by the Ministry of Education. Here, too, one notices the tendency to centralize, which, incidentally, appears to be inherent in any planning exercise. But the centralization is at the level of the Ministry of Education, for in the Swedish system, as reorganized on 1 July 1965, each Ministry carries on its own planning work, usually according to the directives of the Ministry of Finance, for the preparation of a special planning document called the long-term budget. The principal planning authority within the Ministry is the Educational Planning Council of which the Minister of Education is the Chairman. Its other members are the heads of (a) the National Board of Education, which is responsible for the planning of the school system; (b) the Office of the Chancellor of the Swedish Universities, which handles the planning of higher education; (c) the Labour Market Board, which forecasts and plans manpower requirements and development; and (d) the Central Bureau of Statistics, and the representatives of the Employers' Organization (Svenska arbetsgivare föreningen) and the largest employees' organizations. The Planning and Budget Secretariat of the Ministry of Education functions as the secretariat of the Council and attends to:

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(1) Raymond Poignant; Quelques Aspects de l'Expérience Française dans le domaine de la Planification de l'Education - Paper presented to Table Ronde sur la planification de l'Education et le Développement Economique dans les Pays Arabes, Beyrouth du 20-28 Février 1967, p. 46.

(a) the over-all planning of education;
(b) the co-ordination of budgetary work;
(c) the editing of the Ministry's share of government budget proposals; and
(d) contacts with planning bodies of other ministries - primarily the Finance Ministry's secretariat for economic planning;

besides assisting the under-secretary of State in the initiation and co-ordination of committee investigations into various aspects of education.

While the Educational Planning Council is primarily concerned with what is termed 'cross-sectional planning' - that is, planning of educational activities spanning several government sectors - the National Board of Education plans the school system and the Planning Bureau of the Office of the Chancellor plans higher education. Besides, a number of authorities outside the educational system carry out planning functions or investigations which are important to educational planning. A special characteristic of Swedish administration is the manner in which broad public and non-governmental interests are represented in executive boards and agencies which function as central authorities. Many decisions having significant planning implications are taken by ad hoc committees whose proposals are publicly discussed by the authorities and the organizations concerned, decided upon by the Government and Parliament and implemented by the National Board of Education and the Office of the Chancellor of Swedish Universities.

The attitude to the delegation of planning authority and the eagerness to involve all levels and branches of administration in planning functions are best demonstrated by the manner in which the planning of the school system is shared among the National Board, County School Boards and the local authorities. The National Board's Planning Department comprises four divisions dealing with specific functions, e.g.:

(i) over-all planning of the whole school system, particularly the financial calculations;
(ii) regional and local school planning - i.e. central decisions to ensure a uniform approach to setting up and developing various types of schools;
(iii) labour market retraining and up-grading courses;
(iv) school constructions, including decisions on government grants towards school buildings.

While this Department deals with quantitative planning, its departments for educational research and development attend to qualitative aspects of a pedagogical nature. Of special importance is the work of the rationalization unit which plans the organization and the administrative procedures of the Board. The County School Board, which is on par with the County Administrative Board, decides on:

(a) the school zones;
(b) the organization and development of upper secondary education;
(c) certain aspects of the comprehensive school;
(d) within certain limitations, the control and the organization of compulsory and secondary education; and

(e) school building programme.

It also receives and examines local investment programmes before the appropriations are negotiated. The Local School Board, subject to certain controls and approvals of the County Board and the National Board; (a) plans the organization of local educational facilities; (b) decides on the division of its area into headmaster districts; and (c) draws up the plan for the 'class organization'. Although the Swedish planning machinery has not been in operation long enough to warrant an evaluation, its merit, as far as it involves a large number of both officials and lay persons in the educational planning function, is obvious. But in operation it is not without its own problems. The long-term budget is strictly not a plan and the flexibility of the administrative organization which responds sensitively to social demand makes long-term plans less realistic. So have the migratory movements of the population interfered with a long range perspective. As far as the organization itself is concerned, the multiplicity of decision-makers specially at the bottom of the 'planning pyramid' has made planning on a national scale most difficult.(1)

Netherlands

Another type of planning machinery, centralized in the Ministry of Education but subject to many institutional forces and without the elaborate local organizations of Sweden, is to be seen in the Netherlands, where, again, educational planning is a recent effort dating only from 1965. Here, the Research and Planning Department of the Ministry of Education functions as the central organization for educational planning. It has been given adequate authority in that it is a cabinet department directly responsible to the Secretary-General of Education. It comprises three sub-departments, i.e.:

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(1) For a fuller discussion see Educational Policy and Planning in Sweden - A Report from Sweden to the OECD Educational Investment and Planning Programme, Paris, September 1966.

(a) Study - which starts and co-ordinates planning activities and research projects and studies systematically educational goals and their policy implications;

(b) Research - which carries out research projects, prepares statistical analyses and performs all activities connected with the planning procedure;

(c) Finance - which studies financial implications of policy decisions and administers subsidies for research projects.

In addition, there is the Bureau of Statistical Documentation which gathers statistical information, checks forecasts and projections made by the Department and notes discrepencies between projected and actual developments. A closer link has been established in the Netherlands between planning and implementation by making this Department the central point for the administration and financing of educational innovations.

In the Netherlands, educational planning begins with efforts to obtain a general agreement about starting points and premises with the national organizations of different denominations. The Plan, generally called a 'school plan' and limited to a particular type of school, is drafted by the Department of Research and Planning as a study paper out of which a shorter document called the draft is extracted. When the Minister or the Secretary of State accepts it as his policy, the Plan is published for public information and submitted to Parliament not for approval but for information. The implementation of such plans is through a system of governmental financial assistance to those who apply for it for the establishment of new schools. At the local level, the municipalities are expected to prepare an educational plan dealing particularly with the establishment of public schools. As regards higher education, plans are prepared by each university and co-ordinated by the Academic Council, whose functions are similar to those of the University Grants Committee in Britain. Such a planning effort, quite naturally, tends to be piecemeal and the educational laws of the Netherlands which provide for the establishment and the automatic financing of certain types of schools on public demand as well as the traditional practice of controlling education through a system of grants to denominational and other independent institutions make planning extremely difficult. While negotiation with these organizations is given very high priority, the involvement of society as a whole in the planning process has apparently not received adequate attention.(1)

The above discussion on the planning machineries in USSR, India, France, Sweden and the Netherlands, has shown the major variations one encounters in educational planning organizations in different countries. In fact, each country has its own special organization which has been evolved according to its political ideology and administrative traditions. But even the countries with a similar historical background and with similar administrative practices do not necessarily have identical planning machineries. It is interesting, for instance, to compare the organizations in ex-French or ex-British colonies as well as those in other socialist countries. While Senegal, Upper Volta, Dahomey and Cameroons have retained a semblance of the French machinery with specialized commissions neither their composition nor their divisions of functions are in any way alike.(2) Similarly, one sees no similarity in the planning machineries of India, Pakistan, Burma, Ceylon, Mayasia, Nigeria, Uganda, Kenya or Tanzania, other than a general tendency to rely on the findings of ad hoc commissions of inquiry for policy decisions on major questions and, perhaps, a degree of flexibility in reacting to changing conditions. What surprises one is that no strict uniformity exists even among socialist countries, in spite of their identical approaches to planning.

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(1) For an account of the Dutch Planning Organization, see Educational Planning in the Netherlands - A contribution from the Netherlands to the OECD Programme on Educational Investment and Planning, OECD, Paris, March 1966.

(2) See Jean-Pierre Berrad; Planification en Afrique - Problemes de planification en Afrique et à Madagascar, Ministère de la Cooperation, Paris, October 1962.

These planning organizations may be grouped in accordance with their functions into three major categories, each with several sub-categories, namely:

- (i) organizations called Central 'Planning' Offices but with no direct planning functions per se:
  - (a) in a Federal State: e.g. the Office of Programme Planning and Evaluation of the U.S. Office of Education, U.S.A.
  - (b) in a non-federal State: e.g. Planning Branch of the Department of Education and Science in Britain;
- (ii) central planning organizations handling educational planning as an integral part of national development planning:
  - (a) in a Federal State with a unifying political sub-stratum, where the planning is centrally organized through different administrative levels;
  - (b) in a Federal State, with or without specific legal status, planning centrally and using inducements and incentives to get the Plan implemented by the State or regional authorities (The Central Planning Organization in this case is a high-powered body, supported and serviced by representative specialist and lay persons in working groups or commissions), or
  - (c) In a non-federal State; (i) planning centrally with the assistance of representative working groups and controlling the detailed implementation directly with legal authority or indirectly through administrative procedures of evaluation; (ii) planning

centrally through official channels only without involving the professions or the public and controlling the detailed implementation directly or indirectly; (iii) deciding in broad outline the major targets and policies either through representative working groups or through official bodies and leaving the planning and implementation to decentralized departmental, regional and local planning organizations; (iv) co-ordinating plans of different bodies into one plan for purpose of obtaining government and parliamentary approval; or (v) setting up and sponsoring bodies and agencies which study specific problems relating to natural, capital and human resources as a means of facilitating planning by other agencies;

(iii) Planning organizations in federal, national or state ministries of education (called the planning department, division, branch, section or unit in different countries);

(a) in a federal or non-federate state, functioning in a manner similar to a central planning organization in respect of departmental, regional and local levels (see (ii) (a)-(c) above);

(b) functioning as a co-ordinating point for all or some of accounting, building construction and statistical functions of the Ministry. (In such cases, the principal functions revolve round the preparation of the annual budget and the control of allocations and expenditure.);

(c) preparing statistical data and projections required for quantitative planning; or

(d) existing as a weak or totally ineffective administrative unit, with limited or no powers or functions. (Such organizations usually owe their origin to some external pressure in the form of a directive from outside the Ministry or more probably to the half-hearted fulfilment of a condition attached to a measure of foreign aid or to a previous regime which had greater confidence in planning.).

The above analysis leads one to several questions:

(i) Who should plan education?

(ii) *What type of administrative organization* is best suited for educational planning?

(iii) What are the administrative functions involved in educational planning? and

(iv) What changes in educational administration are necessary to equip it to handle the planning functions efficiently?

We shall examine them one by one.

B. The Power to Plan

Contrary to the wishful thinking of most administrators and planning technicians, the power to plan is a basic political power vested in the supreme governing authority of a country and is exercised always by the chief executive (i.e. President or Prime Minister) through the legislative and executive machinery. In respect of all the different kinds of planning organizations in operation, which we observed in the previous section, the final decisions are invariably taken at the highest level, for decisions on priorities and alternatives can best be taken by an authority which has overall control over everyone concerned. In countries where planning is a serious and effective governmental activity, the planning organization is located closest to the chief executive and draws its power and authority directly from him. There is no doubt that the active participation of the chief executive is a secret of the success of a plan. But planning is not the only function of the chief executive. Specially in non-federal states where the Central Government is virtually in charge of everything, the attention of the chief executive is demanded by more pressing and, from the people's point of view, more important problems. The majority of the countries (and particularly the developing countries to which planning has a very vital significance) fall into this category. Here the delegation of authority to plan, is more than an administrative convenience. In such a delegation of authority, who should plan education - the Ministry of Planning, the Central Planning Organization, the Ministry of Finance or the Ministry of Education?

Our analysis reveals that the Ministry of Education is not always vested with the authority to plan education. As our discussion on the role of the Minister of Education showed, he is quite often a somewhat less important figure in the governmental machinery (see page (8). Where the Minister's political standing and enthusiasm are at a low ebb, the strength of the Ministry diminishes proportionately. The power to plan becomes a hotly contested issue and the Ministry of Education is invariably reduced to an advisory role in a planning function, actually operated by the Central Planning Organization. It cannot be disputed that the Central Planning Organization has two very important functions: firstly, as the final co-ordinating agency among different ministries, competing for the scarce resources in men, money and material, and secondly, as the most appropriate and competent authority to find ways and means to secure and increase such resources. But its involvement in the detailed planning of specific activities such as agriculture, land development, industries, transportation, health or education is neither practical nor conducive to efficiency. The dictum that a plan, foisted on administrators by an alien or external agency, generates no enthusiasm and is most likely to be shelved or soft-pedalled applies with equal force to one prepared by the Central Planning Organization exclusively or with the nominal participation of the Ministry concerned.

The question whether a special planning organization is necessary in each Ministry may be answered as a matter dependent on the political ideology and the traditional administrative structure of each country.(1) But apart from the psychological advantage gained by entrusting planning to those who would ultimately implement it, such a course of action would also solve several technical problems such as:

(a) adopting a wider and more comprehensive set of objectives than purely quantifiable targets;

(b) bringing to bear on decisions delicate matters of controversy - only known to and understood by those deeply involved in administering a particular service; and

(c) knowing the status quo thoroughly to identify the need for innovation as well as to work new procedures into it smoothly and without disruption.

In education, the need is not only to have a special planning organization at the Ministry of Education but also to vest the power to plan in the Minister of Education, as:

(a) educational objectives are not confined to purely economic considerations;

(b) educational planning is not merely an exercise in statistical projections and quantitative expansion or contraction;

(c) issues involving education have far-reaching social and cultural implications, which demand specialists' attention;

(d) educational problems, for whose solution planning is recommended, are primarily pedagogical in nature and no planning technician without the active and constant support of educationalists can make a worthwhile contribution.

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(1) Cf. Unesco ED/ICEP3, p. 163. "In these circumstances, is a special planning unit necessary in the Ministry of Education? The answer depends on the level of educational development and the administrative structure."

The Minister of Education alone has direct access to all resources necessitated by the above requirements of educational planning.

There can be a further argument. The concept of educational planning as a technocratic operation has been replaced by a more dynamic view that it is;

> "an intellectual process, involving informed criticism, and a way of thinking in which politicians, educational administrators, teachers, students and as many sections of society as possible, can and should share."(1)

Such an attitude calls for the decentralization of the planning operation right down to the operational level and this cannot commence unless the Minister and his Ministry possess the delegated powers of the Central Planning Organization to plan education.

A question may be asked as to the indispensability of a Central Planning Organization in a country as a pre-requisite for educational planning. In fact, such an organization is not a sine qua non. Educational plans are known to have been made on the basis of allocations promised or envisaged by the Treasury or the Ministry of Finance and implemented through cajoling, pressurizing and politically intimidating its officials. But the existence of a Central Planning Organization is a tremendous advantage, for:

(i) its creation is an eloquent commitment of the country to planned development;

(ii) the allocation of resources is more logical and consistent when done through a central plan than when it is done on an ad hoc basis;

(iii) it helps to co-ordinate activities of cognate or similar objectives undertaken by different agencies and cuts down overlapping and duplication; and

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(1) Final Report, International Conference on Educational Planning, Paris, 6-14 August, 1968. Unesco, p. 11.

(iv) it provides an opportunity to take an over-all view of different developmental activities as they affect the nation as a whole.

It is, however, very important that the Central Planning Organization has its functions clearly defined. We observed in the complex planning machineries of USSR and France the manner in which a hierarchical arrangement of different planning levels and organizations was accomplished by well-established divisions in authority and responsibility. If the Central Planning Organization undertakes or attempts to perform functions which are legitimately or logically of other ministries or which can be done better by the technical and professional personnel of such ministries, not only can its usefulness be reduced but it can also prove to be an hindrance to progress.

As regards educational planning, the Central Planning Organization would have served its purposefully, if it:

(a) had prepared a macro-economic plan, which would indicate:
  (i) the allocations of resources available to education during the plan period (i.e. anticipated annual provisions, foreign exchange quotas, foreign aid, etc.);
  (ii) investment objectives;
  (iii) recurrent implications;
  (iv) the development in other fields which have a direct bearing on education (i.e. the expansion of agriculture, fisheries and industries, indicating patterns of employment opportunities, the opening and the development of new areas and the likely impact on population movement);
  (v) the claims that would be made by different sectors on public and private organization for the construction of buildings, road, playgrounds, etc., and their capacity to meet them;

- (vi) the claims that would be made by different sectors on industries, making furniture, fittings and apparatus and their capacity to meet them; and
- (vii) the type of import-export restrictions and incentives to local industries and their likely effect on the importation and production of building components, science equipment, chemicals, specimens, books and publications, etc.;

(b) had seen to the preparation, by a competent body of specialists, a comprehensive report on the national manpower requirements, containing:

- (i) long-term as well as medium- and short-term forecasts of national (and, if possible, regional) manpower requirements;
- (ii) a survey of employment opportunities with indications as to the nature of skills and specializations demanded;
- (iii) an examination of the imbalances between the current 'mix' of the educational output and the needs of the labour market; and
- (iv) broad guide-lines for job analysis, with tentative indications on the minimum educational qualifications anticipated for various types of employment;

(c) had urged the government to take policy decisions relating to :

- (i) the employment of expatriate personnel;
- (ii) the trend, if any, of replacing expatriate personnel with nationals; and
- (iii) the emigration of trained personnel (i.e. brain-drain);

(d) had made itself available to the educational planners for consultation and ensured the co-ordination of the educational plan with those of other sectors.

The power to plan education within the framework of allocations and data supplied by the Central Planning Organization should be unequivocally vested in the Minister of Education.

C. Ministry of Education Planning Organization

What type of planning organization is best suited for educational planning? The delegates to the International Conference on Educational Planning, Paris, 6-14 August 1968 accepted the possibility of having several types of organizations;

> "It can be the task," says their Report, "of a specialized unit in the Ministry of Education; of a department of education or human resources in the central economic and social planning agency; or of a number of different services and departments co-operating through co-ordinating committees."(1)

In a recommendation to Member States, they urged the need to:

> "establish or reinforce arrangements for effectively fulfilling the functions of educational planning units for example in the Ministry of Education, to conduct analysis, plan preparation, including programming and evaluation of plans."(2)

If the power to plan education is vested in the Minister of Education the administrative organization for that purpose has to be a department, division, branch, section or unit of the Ministry of Education. But how effective is such an organization by itself? Most countries have planning organizations within their ministries of education. But, in reality, little planning is accomplished in the sense that a well conceived and realistically phased plan is implemented with a reasonable degree of success. The usual diagnosis for such failure is that the process of planning is divorced from that of implementation. A clear concept of the relation between them is important before we examine organizational aspects.

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(1) Ibid., p. 12.

(2) Ibid., p. 32.

There exists an impression that planning and administration are two distinct and separate functions. It has been strengthened by the aloofness of planning technicians whose duty is often specified as purely advisory. It was from such a standpoint that the International Conference on Educational Planning came to the following conclusion:

> "The educational planning function must be integrated with the administrative structure; and the planning approach must permeate the whole operational service. The body responsible for educational planning must serve and not control: it should work parallel to, and through, the operative administrators. It is not its role to make decisions, but it should influence them, by giving advice preferably in the form of alternatives, with an assessment of their implications."(1)

The same ideas are found in a more detailed form in Unesco document ED/ICEP 3 - Educational Planning - A Survey of problems and prospects. It says:

> "If the planning unit is to be effective, it seems a matter of considerable importance for it to take no part in decisions (which are taken by the Minister), or in implementation (which is dependent upon the operational services), and for it not to form judgments but merely to note facts. It is through such technical objectivity that it will best prove its use. The planning unit has no orders to give, and the less it commands, the more the other departments will tend to have recourse to it, officially or unofficially. The manager of a planning and research unit /̲Kjell Eide̲7 quotes in this regard the psychological theory of authoritarian guidance, adding that this will be all the more effective the less 'visible' it is. The planning unit is consequently rather

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(1) Ibid., p. 21.

> like a research office, but an office for immediately applicable research. Its role is informative and strictly technical."(1)

These warnings have been found necessary in the light of current experience. With regard to central planning agencies, Waterston says:

> "Experience teaches that the more a planning agency's powers impinge upon the spheres of responsibility of existing government organizations, the more antagonism it arouses and the less it is likely to be able to perform the functions assigned to it. Even when not suspicious or hostile, officials frequently do not understand the purpose and role of planning."(2)

At the beginning, many planners felt that their task was to prepare an 'ideal' plan which could then be implemented by the political and administrative machinery of the country. They decided objectives on their own. The relative merits and advantages of alternative courses of action were rarely discussed and, as though to give planning an esoteric flavour, a technical jargon - made more confusing with mathematical formulae and models - was used even to express straightforward and simple ideas. It is to this type of planner that René Maheu refers, when he says:

> "This means that problems concerning education cannot be settled, in an office, by technocrats. I mean by 'technocrats' people who think they know enough about society to do what is good for others without needing their understanding, agreement or active co-operation. Education is the direct antithesis of this sort of technocracy."(3)

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(1) Ibid., p. 164.

(2) Waterston, loc.cit., p. 464.

(3) Address to the Conference on 'The World Crisis in Education', Williamsburg, U.S.A., 6 October 1967.

Conceding the fact that early experience with planning had led to distrust, antagonism and misunderstanding, one may wonder whether reducing the planning organization to a merely advisory status is the solution. Here it is important to distinguish between 'a planning organization' and 'a planning unit', each of which has to be designed to perform one or the other of the two primary functions in planning:

(a) the orientation of policies relating to goals, targets and means of implementation; and

(b) the collection, processing and analysis of data required to guide decision-making.

The planning unit, as found in the ministries of education in most countries, is nothing more than an internal administrative arrangement, performing the second function only; more often than not, it is manned by relatively junior officers and has neither authority nor influence over other branches of the Ministry. If educational planning is to be pursued as a serious pre-requisite of development, a more effective organization has to supplement it. This new organization has not only to be administratively competent but should have and be able to exercise a certain measure of authority, adequate to fulfil its responsibilities.

It is relevant, therefore, to consider the position which central planning organizations occupy in a country and to assign to the planning organization of the Ministry of Education an authority in no way inferior to it as far as education is concerned.

Whether a planning organization has necessarily to be created by law or parliamentary resolution is not a fundamental issue, for examples of effective organizations created purely on administrative directives can be cited alongside ineffective ones which owe their origin to legislation. At least, one instance, namely Costa Rica's Planning Office, may be mentioned as a case of rendering a planning organization cumbersome by too detailed legislation. What is important is that the organization should have prestige and recognition in the eyes of politicians, administrators and the people. Prestige and recognition can be artificially conferred by legislation or indirectly ensured by appointing competent men in whom all sectors have confidence or most effectively by means of both.

Whatever the method adopted to create the planning organization, it has to be responsible for certain functions. Albert Waterston envisaged a series of functions which the Central Planning Organization should be responsible for.(1) These can be modified to apply to the Ministry of Education Planning Organization with a fundamental change in emphasis to the effect that it need not necessarily be only an advisory body. As we conceive it, it should not only have responsibilities but also the authority, essential to secure the co-operation of all concerned (i.e. the educational administration) for both the formulation and the implementation of the Plan.

Based on Waterston's analysis, we regard the functions of the Ministry of Education Planning Organization to be:

(i) the formulation and revision of long-term, medium-term and annual educational development plans, including the combination and reconciliation of departmental, regional, university and other institutional plans;

(ii) the formulation and revision of regional plans in small, less developed countries where the establishment of separate regional planning bodies is unwarranted or unfeasible;

(iii) the preparation of annual operational plans and budgets for implementing the educational plan;

(iv) the formulation of policies, instruments of policies and, in consultation with the Central Planning Organization and such other appropriate authorities, other measures and machinery required to mobilize financial, material and human resources for implementing the educational plan;

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(1) Waterston, loc.cit., p. 436.

(v) the periodical evaluation of the progress of the plan, identifying factors which are retarding or may retard progress and suggesting or employing, as the case may be, means for dealing with them.

These are not functions for a planning unit as it exists in most countries today. These demand several very important administrative pre-requisites:

(a) the Planning Organization should be high-powered, wielding not only legal and constitutional authority but also adequate political and social influence;

(b) the operational services of not only the Ministry of Education but also other ministries which perform educational activities (see p. 6) should be involved in the planning process and represented in the Planning Organization;

(c) the distinction artificially made between 'planning' and 'planners' or between 'planning' and 'administration' should be eliminated as, in reality, planners are not the technicians who handle details but the administrators who make decisions and as the processes of planning and managing are so closely intertwined.

The ideal organization for educational planning, therefore, is an Educational Planning Commission:

(a) headed by the Minister of Education himself with his permanent secretary (i.e. the most senior civil servant of the Ministry) as its deputy chairman;

(b) comprising senior officers of the Ministry of Education and other ministries associated with the national educational effort as well as representatives of professional bodies, teachers, parents, etc.;

(c) with the Planning Unit of the Ministry as its secretariat and the head of that Unit as its General Secretary;

(d) supported by the documentation, statistical, research, financial, building construction and supply divisions of the Ministry;

(e) maintaining liaison with the academic or educational services of the Ministry;

(f) associated closely with the Central Planning Organization and other ministries; and

(g) handling, through the Planning Unit, the preparation of the annual budget of the Ministry.

This may appear to be a new body. But it need not be so, for every country has such an organization as a national education board or council and all that may be necessary is its reconstitution to undertake, inter alia, the function of orientating policies in educational planning. There are, of course, problems created by special constitutional and political factors, such as the division of authority and responsibility between federal and state governments or between the Central Government and Local Authorities. As planning, to be effective, should take place at every level of policy - and decision-making, a hierarchy of administrative organizations for planning, with clearly defined limits of authority and responsibility, is absolutely necessary. Such a system of planning organizations should extend right down to the grass-roots level, namely, the individual schools.

The creation of planning organizations at each level and each institution is by far the most effective way of ensuring the participation of the society, as a whole, in the planning process. But this is easier said than done. The further we go from the Central Planning Organization, the greater is the tendency to lose sight of the over-all picture and be caught up in parochial and local considerations, which, due to their proximity to us, naturally, appear larger and more important. The outcome of this situation is made more complicated by the fact that local and institutional administrators are often less qualified, less experienced and less able and are without any concept of even the rudiments of planned national development.

The involvement of local interests in educational planning without disrupting it and creating problems of unrest, agitation and sabotage calls for a four-pronged attack:

(a) careful definition of functions, authority and responsibility of each planning organization;

(b) preparation and issue of clear-cut terms of reference and unambiguous guidelines, specially in relation to national objectives and limitations of resources and the detailed formulation of programmes and projects as a basis for planning at the local level;

(c) familiarizing all administrators with concepts and techniques of planning; and

(d) a programme of public education, employing all available mass media.

It is with such a hierarchy of planning organizations that we can evolve a method of planning in keeping with the wide objectives of education.

D. Planning for Planning

The first task of the Educational Planning Organization (i.e. the Commission and the Unit as discussed in Section C) is to plan for planning. Three matters demand its immediate attention:

(i) a budget for the Planning Organization;

(ii) the administrative limitations; and

(iii) the gathering and processing of basic data.

Simple and obvious, as they may appear to be, most of the problems of educational planning arise right at the commencement due to inadequate attention paid to these details.

The Planning Organization requires a substantial budget to recruit and train officers, to purchase equipment, to organize surveys and studies and to put in operation the machinery required to ensure the widest possible participation of society. It possibly cannot stint on essentials due to budgetary restrictions and still produce a satisfactory plan. It is advisable to recognize that planning is expensive and the quality of a plan bears a strong relation to the amount of funds spent on it. Of course, the expenditure on planning has to be regarded as an investment which, when properly applied, brings rich dividends both in minimizing costs and in maximizing the efficiency of educational services.

The administrative limitations are twofold:

(i) the structural problems caused by: (a) the diversity of the governmental administrative machinery associated with the national educational effort (e.g. different ministries handling certain aspects of professional, technical and non-formal education. Vide p.); (b) the existence of a non-governmental sector in the form of private or independent universities, colleges and schools;

(ii) the operational barriers relating to a multiplicity of factors such as personnel, materials, methods.

With regard to the structural problems, the Government itself should make an early decision. If it is the intention of the Government that the educational plan should be comprehensive, (that is, it deals with all levels and types of education as a unified whole and not with only one or more aspects of it), the Planning Organization has to be specifically empowered to co-ordinate the efforts of all governmental, semi-governmental and non-governmental educational agencies. But it is not merely a question of granting it authority, for the more difficult and important issues are connected with:

(a) the adequate representation of these agencies in the hierarchy of planning organization; and

(b) the means by which non-governmental agencies are involved in the planning and plan implementation processes.

One may see no special problem with governmental and semi-governmental agencies outside the Ministry of Education. But with non-governmental agencies, there are several problems. In fact, a major problem is the resistance or opposition they present to any planning effort. In 1962, Belgium and the Netherlands reported as follows on the difficulties they faced in educational planning:

Belgium

> "The existence of three, often rival, education networks (organized respectively by the State, subordinate organs, private persons) has so far constituted the greatest obstacle to any endeavours made in planning. The idea of planning is undoubtedly gaining ground in minds but in practice any proposed measures are resisted by those who are in favour of one or other network and who are aware of the particular disadvantages which would necessarily follow any decision favouring the nation's Community as a whole."

Netherlands

> "It is ... to be noted that along with state and communal public schools, the private schools, whether constitutional or not, have an important place. Although the State bears almost the entire cost of private education, freedom concerning the direction given to such education is guaranteed by the Constitution."(1)

Lebanon listed as a political difficulty, encountered "in the past and at present" in developing the work of educational planning, "the opposition raised by certain agencies of the private schools."(2)

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(1) Ibid. p. 101.

(2) International Bureau of Education: Educational Planning, loc.cit., p. 13 and p. 116.

The easy way out in such a situation is to restrict planning to the government sector. This is what most countries are doing today in the name of national educational planning. But it is in no way different to confining an economic plan to state-sponsored activities and investments, without taking into due consideration the contribution that the private sector does and should make to national development.

The extension of educational planning to include the private school system is prompted by a need far more significant than ensuring the comprehensiveness of the plan. Experience in many countries has shown that:

(a) the competition for the same scarce resources such as qualified teachers and special equipment interferes with the development of both systems;

(b) targets in the form of channelling students to particular courses or adjusting enrolment to national manpower requirements tend to be meaningless if a private school system continues to ignore them in catering for popular demand; and

(c) a parallel school system could develop outside the state system, assume massive proportions and marshal political influence to have it supported by the state outside the planned provisions.

An administration, as a part of its efforts at planning for planning, has, therefore, to give this problem its earnest attention and have the means of co-ordinating the complementary development of the dual system settled as an important preliminary issue.

The operational barriers to which the Planning Organization should direct its early attention as a prelude to planning arise from several factors:

(a) personnel: i.e. understaffing, dearth of administrative talent, inadequacy of leadership, want of training and retraining;

(b) material: i.e. limitations in physical plant; inadequacy of up-to-date and effective machinery and equipment; limitations in mobility and communications;

(c) methodological: i.e. hang-overs from 'caretaker' or 'laisser faire' administrations; wasteful and time-consuming procedures; need for administrative streamlining;

(d) informational: i.e. the absence, inadequacy or inaccuracy of information and data available or retrievable for decision-making processes;

(e) legal: i.e. antiquated legislation; multiplicity of rules and regulations, rigidity in the devolution of authority and responsibiliey;

(f) political: i.e. inadequacies in political leadership; inexperience and expediency;

(g) public relations: i.e. absence or inadequacy of direct contact with the public and the resulting alienation of the administration from sociological forces at work in the nation.

When faced with these problems, the usual reaction of the educational administration has been to restrict its field of operation to:

(i) routine maintenance services;

(ii) rigid personnel administration, particularly through transfers and disciplinary control;

(iii) divorcing administration from the technical aspects of the service administered; and

(iv) avoidance of controversial issues.

The reorganization and modernization of educational administration is a process of eliminating these operational barriers and creating an atmosphere of change and innovation, in which administrators would undertake to handle challenging tasks. We shall examine ways and means of doing it in due course. (Vide Chapter IV). Although we consider administrative reorganization and modernization as a step in planning for planning, the complex programme of activities, involved in it, cannot be completed before the Ministry begins to plan education. It would be necessary to include in the plan measures for the improvement of administration and to continue to give them as much attention as to other aspects of educational development, if not more.

The third phase in planning to plan relates to the gathering and processing of data. As a preparation for planning, the Educational Planning Organization requires as much information and material as it can find in the form of:

(a) data obtained from outside sources, e.g.
  (i) information regarding the macro-economic plan, allocation of resources and manpower requirements, supplied by the Central Planning Organization;
  (ii) demographic data from the census authorities;
  (iii) information on traditional values, social and cultural prejudices and preferences and political awareness and ideologies, as they affect education, gathered through researches of social and political scientists. (The value of this type of information is being proved as management scientists approach the study of administration from the point of view of behavioural sciences.);
  (iv) information relevant to the expansion of educational facilities such as the availability of land for buildings, the capacity of the building trade to handle educational buildings, industrial and trade limitations which pertain to the supply of equipment, etc.;

(b) data which should be prepared and available in the Ministry of Education and other agencies of educational administration, e.g. statistics on:
    (i) pupils - age, grade, linguistic composition, distribution according to levels and specialities, etc.;
    (ii) classes - size, location, distribution, etc.;
    (iii) schools and other educational institutions - level, accommodation, condition, expandability, etc.;
    (iv) teachers - age, qualifications, distribution, retrainability, etc.;
    (v) administrators - as for teachers;
    (vi) physical plant and facilities;
    (vii) costs - costs for different types and levels of education, salary costs, building and equipping costs, etc.; and

(c) data to be worked out from (a) and (b) above for specific requirements of planning, e.g.;
    (i) enrolment, drop-out, repetition and promotion rates and age-grade analysis of pupils;
    (ii) shortages and excesses and training and retraining facilities of teachers;
    (iii) distribution, adequacy and actual condition of school plant and facilities;
    (iv) interpretation of manpower forecasts in terms of educational qualifications and relating manpower needs to educational output;
    (v) unit costs and analyses of educational expenditure.

It is important to emphasize that the gathering and the processing of the above data do not constitute planning; nor even the projection of enrolment and retention figures over a period of years a valid planning operation. These are only the tools for planning and the time and energy spent on their acquisition is justified only to the degree they are useful in making decisions realistically. This fact has to be constantly borne in mind specially when research units, entrusted with their collection and preparation, often show a predilection for amassing a vast quantity of data of little use to planning, though extremely valuable for history. But this does not mean that a planning organization should collect only data needed for the immediate future. Such a course of action would be short-sighted. John D. Chesswas' advice, in this respect, is quite apposite:

> "At the same time," he says, "a line has to be drawn between what is essential and what is desirable. The collection and processing of statistics consumes time and money, and statisticians are usually in short supply. Their services should, therefore be confined to the purpose of producing material which is essential for the planning purpose."(1)

A more difficult question is how the planning activity can be started in the absence of any data - a state not infrequently encountered in developing countries. As Frederick Harbison observes:

> "In many cases, it is simply impossible to ascertain all the facts ideally necessary for perfect planning."

His solution, however, may not be readily acceptable. He says:

> "The first conclusion is that the building of strategy is certainly not a process of getting accurate statistics, or even of uncovering real facts. The central problem of the educational planner is to be able to identify on his intellectual radar set the really critical problems involved in human resource development, and this can be done with very meagre statistical information."(2)

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(1) John D. Chesswas: 'The Basic Data Needed for Educational Planning', in the World Year Book of Education, 1967 - Educational Planning, p. 73.

(2) Frederick Harbison: 'Educational Planning and Human Resource Development', Unesco/IIEP, 1967, pp. 11 and 22.

It will be important to stress here that the information required for educational planning is not limited to statistical data. The absence of comprehensive statistical information, at the beginning, can be compensated for with a thorough understanding of a representative sample of institutions or localities and an adequate grasp of the trends in social and cultural development. But the extraction of sufficiently clear and helpful conclusions from such a knowledge requires sharper analytical tools than are necessary to examine statistics. Such a task is necessarily interdisciplinary in nature and the planning organization will find it advisable to employ the best talent available for this work. However competent and thorough a team can be, its work in this particular exercise can only be preliminary. The need to set up the technical machinery to collect and process the data can never be over-emphasized.

The system of educational administration, as we outlined in our Introduction, has to go through a series of transformations in the process of planning to plan. It involves drastic changes in the over-all attitude to administration and, thus, affect the ways of thinking and acting of administrators in the educational service as well as their relations with both colleagues and the wider community. These changes begin with the structural and procedural modifications made in the machinery to meet demands of planning. The whole process is a functional metamorphosis, characterized by the following:

(a) the creation of an educational planning commission or committee to:

  (i) fulfil the first function of planning, namely, the orientation of policies relating to goals, targets and means of implementation;

  (ii) involve all agents of educational administration - governmental, semi-governmental and non-governmental - in the collective task of reviewing the national system of education as a whole;

- (iii) ensure the participation directly or through representation of parents, teachers, professions, trades and such other sections of society interested in education; and
- (iv) remove education from the sphere of bureaucratic direction to that of popular participation, making the administration sensitive to economic, social and cultural needs and aspirations of the people;

(b) the establishment of a planning unit to:

- (i) fulfil the other function of planning, namely, the collection, the processing and the scientific analysis of data, information and trends, essential for decision-making;
- (ii) interweave such continuing functions like budget preparation into the fabric of organized efforts to achieve specified goals; and
- (iii) conduct, sponsor, direct and encourage operations research into various aspects of the national educational system;

(c) the institution of a hierarchy of planning organizations at different levels of educational administration, right down to that of individual institutions;

(d) the inauguration of a programme of reorganizing and modernizing educational administration, with the objective of removing existing operational barriers and improving its standards of efficiency;

(e) the utilization of such special facilities as bilateral and multilateral foreign aid to obtain or train the necessary expertise and to supplement a coherently conceived national effort; and above all

(f) the correlation of the national educational effort with the wider objectives of economic, social and cultural development.

CHAPTER III

Administrative Implications of Educational Planning

A. Aims, Approaches and Methods in Educational Planning

When a political party, in its eelection manifests or its master plan, and a government, in its programme, announce their educational objectives, all they, usually, do is to decide on:

(a) the order of priority they assign to each of the three perennial educational aims, namely, personal adjustment, economic viability and cultural identity;

(b) the means by which the chosen goal or goals are achieved; and

(c) the rate at which the modern sector in education is extended to take over the functions presently fulfilled by the traditional system. (Vide. p. 2).

One finds these objectives stated in such terms as:

- integrating education with national development;
- correlating education to national economic, social and cultural needs;
- ensuring equality of educational opportunity;
- gearing education to the social and cultural aspirations of the people;
- developing a vocational and technical bias in education;
- improving the quality of secondary and higher education;
- diversifying education to meet national manpower needs;
- introducing universal primary education;
- eliminating educated unemployment.

Couched obviously in the most general terms, they are, by themselves, in the realm of pious hopes and many an administrator has been exasperated by their lack of precision as well as their rather demagogic flavour. The impatience of the professional administrator is understandable, even though it cannot be justified. The politician, both by inclination and by the pressure of his particular working climate, prefers targets which fire popular imagination. In fact, this is an essential political function without which little development or progress can take place. Reducing these targets to workable propositions is a professional function which has to be undertaken by the senior members of the educational executive, operating close to the vortex of political power.

The interpretation of the political targets in terms of practical educational objectives is, by far, the most important function of the executive. In this function the professional administrators have many advantages over the political minister, whose strength lies on the fact that he, as a politician, is closer to the people to know more intimately their needs and aspirations and his political party has received a mandate from the people to rule according to its programme:

(a) the professional administrators know - or are in a position to know - the background to every problem and the limitations and constraints which are, and have been, in the way of their solution;

(b) they are adequately safe-guarded from public criticism and intervention so that they can take a detached view on every issue;

(c) the security of tenure, they normally enjoy, gives them a greater measure of independence of thought and action as well as a penchant for a longer perspective of the future; and

(d) they need not be motivated by either parochial interests or the desire for quick, short-term results, which quite often govern political decisions.

But an impulsive Minister may, at times, choose to disregard professional experience and (a) reduce his senior staff to a position of unquestioning yes-men or (b) begin operating through a coterie of sycophants, who are not too rare in any establishment. Apart from the fact that such situations are usually short-lived, the administrator has with him an effective solution.

With the complexity of administrative organizations and the multiplicity of laws, regulations, conventions and precedents which govern administrative action, power and authority in any bureaucracy tend to flow into the hands of those with the highest knowledge and the greatest capacity for work. The indispensability of the administrator, achieved through knowledge and efficiency, as well as a healthy attitude to public service based on a wider loyalty to the nation, has always been a stabilizing factor and this type of stability is essential to the educational administration before it begins to define objectives and undertake planning.

On the definition of objectives depends the choice of the approach to planning. In spite of the relative newness of educational planning as a discipline, several approaches have been already proposed and tried out. In 1963, William G. Bowen identified four approaches, which he discussed in detail in Appendix 4 of Part III of the Robbins Report:(1)

(i) The simple correlation approach: i.e., correlating educational expenditure with the gross national product to enable a country to view its educational efforts in perspective and to foresee future developments;

(ii) The residual approach: i.e., using the size of the residual or third factor in economic growth (namely, what is unaccountable by increases in capital and labour) as a mandate for increases in educational expenditure;

(iii) The direct returns-to-education approach: i.e., assessing the investment in education in terms of measurable economic returns to the individual as well as society; and

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(1) William G. Bowen: 'Assessing the Economic Contribution of Education - An Appraisal of Alternative Approaches', Higher Education (Robbins Report) H.M.S.O., London, 1963, pp. 73 ff.

(iv) The forecasting-manpower-needs approach: i.e., gearing the educational effort to the fulfillment of national manpower requirements.

To this list should be added several others, e.g.,

(v) The social demand approach: i.e., the traditional approach to educational development by providing institutions and facilities to meet pressures on admission and provide for students' and parents' preferences;

(vi) The education-output-ratio approach of Jan Tinbergen, involving the use of elaborate mathematical models to relate the stock of educated people and the flow of students completing education to the national output of goods and services without the intermediate step of manpower forecasting(1);

(vii) The aggregate approach of H.M. Philips, according to which norms built on international comparisons are used to arrive at a balanced assessment of educational needs as a whole from the points of view of population distribution or financial distribution or both(2);

(viii) The human resources assessment approach of Frederick Harbison, which is based on the concept of setting targets by means of international comparisons for the human resource development of a country rather than on the basis on actual forecasts of its manpower requirements(3);

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(1) J. Tinbergen and H.C. Bos; 'A Planning Model of Education Requirements of Economic Development' in The Residual Factor and Economic Growth (ed. J. Vaizey, OECD, Paris, 1964, p.).

(2) H.M. Philips; 'Education and Development in Unesco: Economic and Social Aspects of Educational Planning', Paris, 1963, pp. 15 ff.

(3) Frederick Harbison; 'Human Resource Assessments' in Unesco: Ibid., pp. 111 ff.

(ix) The rate-of-return approach, which calculates the internal rate of return on investment in education and provides for supplying just enough schooling to equalize the yield on investment in human capital with the yield of investment in physical capital(1);

(x) The cost-benefit approach in which the cost of various types of education is systematically compared with the employment and earnings prospects of the people so educated(2);

(xi) The cost-effectiveness approach where the focus is on the effect of cost changes on the effectiveness of the task accomplished(3);

(xii) The typological approach, which uses comparative data on countries, regions, societies and cultures, having analogous features and similar structures, as an instrument of diagnosis and an aid to formulate working assumpeionts.(4)

There is no agreement among exponents of these different approaches even where they appear quite similar and the literature, replete with hair-splitting arguments, which has come into existence in favour of one or the other, is already quite voluminous. But what is even more significant is that the search for new approached continues unabated.

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(1) Cf. Mark Blaug; 'A Cost-Benefit Approach to Educational Planning in Developing Countries, Economics Department, IBRD/IDA Report No. EC 157, 20 December, 1967, pp. 2-3.

(2) Ibid., pp. 37 ff. Cf. also, Jack Wiseman's and Theodore W. Shultz's discussion in The Southern Economic Journal, Vol. XXXII, July, 1965, pp. 1-14.

(3) Cf. Chauncey F. Bell; 'Cost-Effectiveness Analysis as a Management Tool', The Rand Corporation, Santa Monica, California, U.S.A., October 1964.

(4) Unesco: ED/ICEP/3, pp. 90 ff.

The debate is still among economists and planning technicians. Few educationalists and even fewer educational administrators have so far undertaken an adequately detailed analysis of any of these approaches from the specific point of view of their practical implications in respect of their particular functions. When educationalists consider some of these approaches their main arguments are: (a) that not all objectives of education - and particularly not the most important among them - are measurable in terms of money; (b) that the function of education is to develop the human personality as a whole rather than to fit an individual into a 'slot' in the labour market; and (c) that education is a basic human right which should be guaranteed by State with no reservations. The economist, as a rule, does not contest any of these claims; he, however, has his own arguments:

(a) education is not the only basic human right and the fulfilment of all needs of society is governed by the availability of resources in terms of men, machines, money and material, which even in the best developed community, is scarce and inadequate to meet all demands;

(b) the allocation of resources to various activities of the State is a process of decision-making, which involves the examination of alternatives and the assignment of priorities. This function requires rational criteria which can be expressed in terms understandable to operators of public finance;

(c) however important the non-economic aims of education be, the economic viability of the individual is an objective, with direct implications to the student, his family, and society, and invariably the foremost in his mind.

The educational administrator's interest in these different approaches has to be pragmatic. He is far too involved in day-to-day problems of organizing, directing and controlling operations to be either free or inclined to engage himself in quibbling arguments on the relative merits of these claims and approaches. In all types of decision-making, the administrator seeks for the better course of action (i.e. what, under given circumstances, is immediately feasible to take him nearer the accomplishment of his goal). He is rarely allowed the luxury of waiting for inspiration or until all factors and alternatives are examined, so that he can choose the best course of action. This is what Herbert A. Simon noted as a tendency towards 'satisficing' in preference to 'optimizing'.(1) All that the administrator would wish to know is the manner in which these approaches could be made to serve him in his planning function.

The primary objective of all these approaches is to find rational justifications for the allocation of resources to education. Basically they are important to the function of making macro-economic decisions, which, though specifically a responsibility of the Central Planning Organization, demands the participation of the educational administrator. It will be his responsibility to ascertain that adequate resources are set apart for education and, to ensure it, he should be in a position not only to know and understand the implications of the various approaches but also to examine their relevance, validity and accuracy as they affect the over-all policy on educational expenditure. For this purpose, it is useful to note that the 12 approaches, enumerated above, are based on three principles, which are complementary to one another:

(a) the social demand for education has to be met in due course and resources required for it can be, to a certain extent, determined by international comparisons as envisaged in the simple correlation, the residual, the aggregate or the typological approaches(2);

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(1) Herbert A. Simon; Administrative Behaviour, pp. XXIV ff.

(2) Cf. the approach adopted for the preparation of 'An Asian Model of Educational Development - Perspectives for 1965-1980', Unesco, 1966.

(b) the educational effort has to be geared to the development of the national human resources as determined by the forecasting-manpower-needs, the education-output-ratio, or the human resources assessment approaches; and

(c) some criteria have to be evolved to evaluate the adequacy, inadequacy and justifiability of not only the over-all educational expenditure in relation to national development but also individual educational projects in relation to the total educational effort.

The acceptance of an already known approach or its adaptation to suit local requirements or the evolution of a new approach is, therefore, a preliminary responsibility of the educational administration.

The next function is to determine the methodology of planning. Much has been written on quantitative methodologies, particularly as training material for planning technicians in a planning unit which handles the technical preparation of the plan. Both Hector Corea and John D. Chesswas, in their excellent works, deal with the 'number work' required in the planning process.(1) While the indispensability of the quantitative aspect of planning is not disputed, it has become almost a cliche to warn the planner on the importance of qualitative improvement. It is, here, that the educational administrator encounters the most difficult of his methodological problems. Not only is 'quality' indefinable in tangible form but the concept of quality varies from culture to culture, if not individual to individual. In a survey of opinions on what constituted 'quality' in education over 50 per cent of a representative group of graduate students listed the following (in this particular order):

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(1) Hector Correa: Quantitative Methodologies of Educational Planning, Unesco/IIEP, Paris, December 1967, and John D. Chesswas, Methodologies of Educational Planning for Developing Countries, Unesco/IIEP, Paris, 1969.

(i) facility in the correct use of language in speaking and writing;

(ii) awareness of the literary, artistic and scientific achievements of mankind;

(iii) immediate employability as a productive member of the community;

(iv) self-reliance to face and overcome problems of real life;

(v) trainability in new skills demanded by changes in technology;

(vi) well-rounded personality to maintain genial and fruitful relations with others; and

(vii) independence in thought and action.

Others thought of more mundane criteria as graduation, passes at public examinations, academic awards and distinctions and earning capacity.

The concept of quality is, no doubt, very closely related to the educational objectives accepted by a nation. In that sense, qualitative improvement of education means the organization of the educational effort at every level to contribute towards the achievement of those objectives. But there can be no rough and ready methods of doing it and the administrator is not the only person who knows how to attempt it.

To some educational administrators and planners, this discussion on qualitative improvement may appear to be of academic interest only. They are, generally, guided by observations which have almost become axiomatic principles in their circles, e.g.:

(i) a trained teacher performs at a higher level of efficiency than an untrained teacher: so all teachers must be trained;

(ii) mathematics and science are essential to equip people for this modern age of science and technology: so they must be in the curriculum of every school;

(iii) audio-visual aids can, as a rule, improve the efficiency of the teaching-learning process: so they must be available to all teachers;

(iv) educational and vocational guidance is the key to the solution of educated unemployment: so all schools must provide that service;

(v) a teacher works better with smaller classes: so the teacher/pupil ratio must be reduced.

While one may never disagree with any of them, the question can still be asked as to how their achievement can be correlated with the educational objectives of a given country.

Teachers should all be trained? But how? Is it by a mere numerical expansion of existing teacher-training institutions? Is it on the basis of 'business-as-usual'? Will the production of such a kind of trained teachers only add further strains to an already over-burdened budget without making a dent in the competence profile of the teaching service? Science and mathematics are, no doubt, desirable. But for how many and to what degree? And what type of science does the country need at the moment - nuclear physics or agricultural biochemistry or simple rural science? Expensive audio-visual aids have, besides their educational use, a prestige value. But is the chalk-board being used effectively by the teachers? Similarly, guidance has a useful role only when it is geared to the economic and social realities of the country. The reduction of the teacher/pupil ratio, unaccompanied by efforts to improve the educational profile of the teaching service and its awareness of national needs, may result in nothing more than diluting its range of competence.

Another set of arguments, equally valid but fraught with practical difficulties, is based on international comparisons which are made in support of projects for 'qualitative improvement'. Community colleges in the U.S.A. or technicums in the USSR or comprehensive schools in Britain or the Wardha system of basic education in

India have set records of success in given contexts. But their wholesale importation to another milieu may not always be a qualitative improvement.

All these go further to prove that 'quality' in education needs much more serious analysis(1) in relation to specific national or even local conditions than most people are prepared to accept. It has even been recommended that the use of the term 'qualitative improvement' be altogether abandoned and, in place, actual improvements whether in the internal or the external output of education or both be specifically enumerated whenever administrators and planning technicians have to grapple with this problem. Such an attempt to identify particular activities will eliminate their confusion as to how to plan 'qualitative improvement' in the abstract and by whom. Among the matters, whose improvement has to be provided for in an educational plan, are:

(a) the fulfilment of society's needs - i.e. economic development, manpower, socio-cultural integration and mobility of individuals;

(b) the fulfilment of individual's needs - i.e. attitudes towards society, basic skills (ability to communicate, literacy and numeracy, trainability, reasoning power);

(c) the internal efficiency of the educational system - i.e. structure, content and methods; and

(d) the external efficiency of the educational system - i.e. the fulfilment of society's and the individual's needs (see (a) and (b) above).

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(1) A useful contribution in this direction has been made by the IIEP Symposium on the Qualitative Aspects of Educational Planning (June 1966, Paris) whose working papers and final report are due to be published shortly.

As planning presupposes the intention as well as the capacity to change the status quo, it is methodologically convenient to decide on: (a) what can be changed (i.e. 'variables') and (b) what cannot be changed (i.e. 'constants'). If a country has serious limitations in the capacity of its building industry or strict immigration laws and linguistic policies which curtail the utilization of expatriate teachers, school plant, facilities and teachers may become 'constants'. Otherwise, the only main constant is the quantum of public and private financial resources, that is allocated to education. All other factors are variable in the sense that adjustments and modifications can be made in them to the extent funds are available. The principal 'variables' are:

(a) Pupils
   (i) enrolments to different levels of education;
   (ii) age of admission;
   (iii) compulsory school-going age;
   (iv) age of specialization;
   (v) distribution of pupils into different types of education and institutions;

(b) Teachers
   (i) number of teachers to be employed;
   (ii) conditions of service (i.e. salary, allowances, leave, working hours, transferability, etc.);
   (iii) distribution of teachers into different specialities, levels and types of education, by means of recruitment requirements and pre-service training;
   (iv) proficiency of teachers in different specialities, levels and types of education, by means of re-training;
   (v) teacher/pupil ratio;

(c) Time
   (i) length of courses;
   (ii) number of working days;
   (iii) number of working hours;

- (iv) allocation of periods in the timetable;
- (v) length and distribution of vacations;

(d) Structure

- (i) age-grade structure;
- (ii) class organization;
- (iii) school/institutional structure;
- (iv) out-of-school educational activity;

(e) Content

- (i) subjects and subject-groupings;
- (ii) curricula and co-curricular activities;
- (iii) syllabuses;

(f) Methods

- (i) instructional methodology (e.g. programmed teaching, teacher assistants, sandwich and on-the-job vocational and technical training);
- (ii) course guides;
- (iii) textbooks;
- (iv) teaching aids;
- (v) use of teaching machines, radio, television and other audio-visual media;

(g) Evaluation

- (i) units and credits;
- (ii) scholastic and aptitude tests;
- (iii) vocational and educational guidance;
- (v) examination system;

(h) Physical plant and facilities

- (i) location of schools and institutions;
- (ii) optimum use of plant and facilities;
- (iii) school architecture and building materials;
- (iv) cost of building and equipping;
- (v) improvization of equipment and apparatus;

(i) Ancillary services
  - (i) scholarships and bursaries;
  - (ii) mid-day meal or school feeding programmes;
  - (iii) boarding facilities;
  - (iv) transportation;
  - (v) school health services;
  - (vi) teachers' quarters;

(j) Additional financial resources
  - (i) community participation (e.g. self-help, donations, endowments);
  - (ii) productive educational activities (e.g. school farms, bakeries, repair shops, etc.);
  - (iii) cultural role of the school (i.e. community entertainment);
  - (iv) industrial and agricultural problem-solving and research (e.g. universities undertaking research for industry);
  - (v) extension services.

Out of these 'variables' at the disposal of the educational planner, he rarely uses anything other than:

(a) enrolments, adjusting the number according to the availability of funds;

(b) number and qualifications of teachers to be employed, admitting more of less qualified teachers as a means of reducing the total salary bill;

(c) teacher/pupil ratio, increasing it as a means of reducing the number of teachers to be employed; and

(d) working hours, where double sessions are organized to avoid congestion.

Whenever the educational planner is called upon to cut his coat according to the size of his cloth, he thinks in terms of (a) reduction of projected enrolments and (b) reduction of unit costs.(1) These are arithmetically feasible and can be easily demonstrated to higher levels of policy-making as well as to the public.

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(1) Cf. John D. Chesswas; Ibid., p. 83.

The main justification for entrusting educational planning to educational administrators is that they are functionally better equipped to explore ways and means of modifying all those 'variables' for the achievement of optimum results. It is, therefore, important that this function is recognized as an essential responsibility of all of them. It is not something that can be done by an ad hoc agency like the planning unit. While the planning unit may direct operations from the centre, the four-fold functions connected with them, namely: (a) research - particularly operations research; (b) experimentation; (c) consultation with experts, practising teachers and informed public opinion; and (d) pre-testing in pilot projects should be undertaken by each of the branches in the different agencies of education, concerned with these 'variables', with the active co-operation of the educational field staff, institutional administrators and, of course, teachers.

The inspiration and inducement for changes and innovations have to emanate from the highest authority, while incentives should be provided for every member in educational administration to put forward suggestions.

> "By getting groups in organizations to participate in making decisions", says Russel T. Gregg, "administrators not only get more co-operation in implementing the choices made but also get better quality decisions."(1)

The following measures will help to capture sparks of inspiration which can, in due course, be developed into new lines of approach:

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(1) Cf. Russel T. Gregg: The Administrative Process in Administrative Behaviour in Education (ed. Roald F. Campbell and Russel T. Gregg) New York, Harper and Bros., 1957, pp. 278-280.

(a) regular conferences and discussions, similar to 'brainstorming' sessions of industry;

(b) regular exchanges of views, opinions and results of research and experimentation through a common publication or a system of circulating memoranda;

(c) arrangements to collect and process ideas which may arise outside the educational administration.

As no one holds a monopoly for new and brilliant ideas, no section of the public should be kept out of the active function of thinking and commenting on how the above-mentioned 'variables' in educational planning can be adjusted and modified to bring about the desired result.

But ideas do not arise in a vacuum. Not only is it necessary to provide a healthy climate for new and revolutionary ideas, but an informed circle of specialists has to give the lead. Problems have to be identified and 'constants' and constraints lucidly and convincingly explained. For this purpose as well as to receive and develop promising ideas, there should be at the level of both the Ministry and the Regional Office teams of competent persons, with open minds, free of prejudices, biases and conservative notions, intellectually agile and temperamentally inclined to try out changes and innovations. To be effective, such teams should consist not only of administrative officers but also practising teachers, university personnel and, where possible, representatives of students themselves. Philip H. Coombs, advocated that education should have its equivalent of a 'Vice-President in charge of Heresy', whose function it should be to render current educational practices obsolete.(1)

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(1) Philip H. Coombs: The Technical Frontiers of Education - the twenty-seventh Annual Sir John Adams lecture at the University of California, Los Angeles, delivered 15 March, 1960, p. 14. "Specifically, it might be a good idea for every school system and every college and university to appoint a Vice-President in charge of Heresy. This new officer would have a regular research and development budget. In larger school systems and colleges he would guide and encourage a substantial programme of fresh research and experimentation. In smaller school systems and colleges it would be his responsibility, at the very least, to keep informed about new developments and promising experimental results elsewhere and to encourage their application in his own situation."

Nothing is more important than that to make educational planning more meaningful and productive. But the mere appointment of an individual or a team would not solve all the problems. What is really needed is a total reorientation of the educational administration from its maintenance and caretaker functions to one of creativity and trail-blazing.

B. Reorienting the Administration to Planning

The Educational Planning Organization, right at the commencement of its work, discovers several disconcerting facts:

(a) 80-90 per cent of the educational budget is already committed for recurrent and continuing functions;

(b) there is a limit up to which the administrative staff can be expanded because of the necessity to widen the base of the administrative pyramid with supporting personnel;

(c) most countries have already expanded their administrative staff numerically to the maximum allowable capacity, even if their educational profile and administrative effectiveness leave much to be desired;

(d) certain positions in the administrative machinery cannot be duplicated to cope with additional responsibilities, (e.g. a school cannot be given two headmasters);

(e) 80-90 per cent of the administrative time of the educational administration at all levels is already committed for functions of a maintenance nature; and

(f) when it comes to the senior officers, whose involvement in the planning process is indispensable, the percentage of time taken up by supervisory, ceremonial, political and public relations functions is even greater.

Finding more administrative time for planning functions, therefore, becomes an urgent matter. Increasing the staff may appear to be the primary solution. But in reality it is not so. The type of person whose time is required for planning is not relieved by merely increasing the number of his assistants. Far more important is an investigation into problems of administrative procedure and practices.

In the absence of either a pressing need or feasible methods to subject public administration to a cost-benefit or cost-effectiveness analysis - as often done by commercial and industrial ventures - changes in procedure are not only very very slow in coming but also vehemently resisted by administrators who see in them a threat to their power and authority, if not to their security of employment and promotions. Most complications arise as a result of:

(a) the absence or inadequacy of devolution and delegation of authority;
(b) unsatisfactory controlling and approving mechanisms;
(c) time-consuming routine procedures;
(d) overemphasis on record-keeping; and
(e) administrative bottlenecks caused by bad organization, antiquated equipment and confusions created by misunderstanding or ignorance of policies.

Some of these relate to the tendency to continue practices which had been found to be quite feasible when the work load of administration was relatively small. In a small school system, the head of the Department of Education could personally supervise the recruitment of staff, the purchase of stores and even the construction of school time-tables. But to continue the same functions after the system had grown ten- to twenty-five times is to create problems of delay as well as misdirection resulting from inadequate time and thought paid to them. Another demonstrable hang-over from past practices is the common habit of passing papers upwards in an office through a series of intermediary staff officers not because their concurrence or comments are necessary or important but because the traditionally established routine dies hard. Similarly, if every decision made by one level of administration has to be approved by a higher level, the phase of work slows down to that of a single authority at the helm of affairs, not to speak of the time wasted in passing papers to him through intermediary officers. The only way to find more administrative time - especially that of senior administrators - is to delegate authority right down the line. It has, of course, to be realized that delegation is not abdication of authority but an enlargement of it.(1) What is indicated is an organization and methods review of the entire administrative machinery with the specific objectives of relieving the higher echelons of routine functions and streamlining the organization through such means as:

(a) amending legislation;
(b) revising instructions and replacing existing manuals;
(c) working out time-and-energy conserving job-breakdowns;
(d) adopting modern methods and equipment of recording, filing and retrieving data and information, and
(e) where finances permit, mechanizing as many operations as possible.

It should, however, be noted that mechanization, by itself, does not contribute towards the maximization of administrative time for planning. In certain countries, labour-intensive methods of accounting, record-keeping and for a matter of that, even routine jobs like addressing envelopes may be preferred to mechanization on the basis that they provide work for a greater number of people, and their salaries can be accounted for partly as an unemployment relief measure. Further, mechanization is no alternative to eliminating unproductive work, use of the latest machinery to photocopy, card-index and pneumatically distribute documents in an office does nothing to improve its efficiency, if the documents are not relevant to the work, not read by anyone, and written only as a task with the knowledge that they will neither be read nor used. In such a situation, the more important task is to examine, in the first place, whether such documents need be produced in the future and, if it is found that they should be, how their quality can be improved and controlled to render them practically useful to the administration.

Along with measures taken to gain more administrative time for planning, the responsibility for planning must be delegated to all levels of educational administration and functions, relevant and incidental to such responsibility, should be laid down. It will also be necessary to indicate the kind of relationships among different levels which facilitate and consolidate their planning functions. We shall, therefore, proceed to examine how the different levels of the educational administration can be reorientated to be more effective as integral agencies of the planning process. We shall start with the role of the Institutional Administrator, for the tendency noticeable in most countries is to relegate him to an insignificant position in the background. Our plea that educational planning should concern itself more and more with problems at the grass-roots level anticipates that the Institutional Administrator, particularly of the school, has an important role to play.

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(1) For a full discussion of this question see Paul H. Appleby: Re-examination of India's Administrative System, Government of India, New Delhi, 1959.

I. Role of the Institutional Administrator

Just as the head of the government if the chief planning officer for the nation and the Minister of Education is the chief educational planning officer, the head of an institution has to be its chief planning officer, for no administrator worthy of his name can afford to make decisions without orientating them to the future needs and development of the institution. But the degree of planning responsibility may vary very widely according to the type and size of the institution; for instance;

(a) the Vice-Chancellor or President of a university may be responsible for a multi-million dollar development programme and may be assisted by the requisite technical staff to collect, process and analyse the relevant data and to formulate both long-term and short-term plans, besides working out the detailed programmes and projects to implement them; he may even be obliged by law to plan for a specified number of years (e.g. five-year budgets required by the British University Grants Committee and the four-year budgets laid down by the Higher Education Act of 1966 of Ceylon); he may also be able to finalize his plan within the university administration itself, if its governing authorities exercise an adequate measure of autonomy and present to the government a fait accompli for inclusion in the national plan;

(b) the Director or Principal of a teachers' college, a college of technology or a technical institute may not have a direct planning and plan-implementing responsibility; but he may be responsible for the preparation of his draft annual budget for approval by the Ministry, the Treasury and the Parliament with modifications made at different levels; he may also be entrusted with the task of readjusting his programme for the following year on the basis of 'cuts' made in his draft budget. In this case, he may have to fit his internal planning to the national or the regional plan in respect of teacher education or technical and vocational training;

(c) the Principal or Headmaster of a secondary school may not have any planning or budgeting responsibilities in respect of resources provided by government, though he may be empowered to find and utilize additional resources for curricular and co-curricular activities. He may not even be consulted on the budget of the school, which is prepared by some officer at the intermediate level of educational administration. His internal planning will be restricted to the utilization of teachers, plant and facilities, equipment and whatever projects financed by additional resources he finds. It is possible that he is subjected to supervision by the supervisory level in performing these functions;

(d) the Headmaster of an elementary school may not even be empowered to find additional resources. His responsibility may be limited to using what the intermediate level provides. Even here the supervisory level may exercise a very rigid control on his decisions either by means of detailed instructions or close scrutiny.

Whatever be the degree of responsibility, each institutional administrator has to perform a measure of internal planning. It is very important to note that what he does can be the only form of effective planning in the entire educational structure. This statement, certainly, needs further clarification.

All educational objectives are ultimately achieved through a complex procedure of adjusting, changing and conditioning the behavioural patterns of individual students and this takes place, primarily, through their contact with teachers and, more specifically, through their reaction to learning-teaching situations provided by the institution. The internal planning in the institution ensures the manner in which optimal use is made of available resources to create such situations and to improve teacher-student contact. Basically, all educational planning has to be geared to this end. But, in reality, planners with their preoccupation with national statistics and global problems, give little thought to what goes on or should go on in the classroom, which, despite the growing emphasis of using every situation in life as a teaching-learning medium, remains and will continue to remain the principal arena of all educational efforts.

What, for instance, can the head of an elementary school, with no powers at all, do as internal planning? In the first place, it should be made clear that such a powerless position is not only detrimental to the entire process of education but altogether untenable within a modern administrative machinery. Our contention is that each head of school should have a fair amount of authority and responsibility with regard to the school budget. Even if major items of expenditure like teachers' salaries, buildings, maintenance and equipment are centrally handled by a higher level of administration, the headmaster should have, at his disposal, some funds which would enable him to plan certain activities.

For the sake of argument, let us examine the possible planning duties of a headmaster who has no such authority. Even where the school system is so highly centralized that details of curriculum, allocation of periods and content of courses are all laid down by official fiat, he has the authority or at least the capacity to:

(a) assign subjects and classes to teachers;

(b) experiment with new methods of instruction and evaluation;

(c) exploit local talent and 'know-how' to supplement what is available within the staff;

(d) try out improvisations of equipment and teaching aids;

(e) secure local support to augment, maintain and improve school premises, buildings and equipment;

(f) co-ordinate school activities with extension services of agricultural, co-operative, community development and labour agencies of the area and utilize the services of their field officers for the improvement of instruction in the school;

(g) organize the alumni and parents as well as the community to be supporting agencies of the school, particularly as a lobby to represent matters relating to the school to the higher levels of educational administration and the local political machinery, and;

(h) provide to the community the intellectual leadership necessary for its economic, social and cultural development, by mobilizing both the staff and the pupils in their community activities.

These functions, naturally, involve planning both in the sense that foresight has to be exercised in determining priorities and strategies and in the sense that these functions have to be in conformity with the over-all educational policies of the country as reflected in its national educational plan. A headmaster, who through his powers of persuasion and excellent public relations, finds land and buildings to expand his school and organizes a vociferous lobby to demand it, may cause embarrassment - if not total disruption - to a plan which considers the development of such a school as a matter of very low priority. On the other hand, what he does by experimenting with teaching methodology and improvisation of equipment may have an impact on the entire national school system. An interesting example is the development of a new art form called 'arborics' which owes its origin to the ingenuity of a rural teacher faced with inadequate teaching materials; today it has proved to be an exceptionally efficient and totally inexpensive form of art education all over the world. Similarly, the search for improvized equipment to teach science, inspired by Unesco made quite a difference in unit costs and the consequent expansion of science education in developing countries.

Apart from these functions, the institutional administrator plays another vital role in educational planning. He is the primary supplier of the basic statistics and data on which educational plans are formulated. The sophistication of data processing systems and machinery is no substitute for accurate reporting which is his responsibility. The long and complicated returns called for by statistical or planning units may appear to him to be an unwarranted imposition unless their importance is convincingly demonstrated to him. The best way to do this is to make him a user of statistics himself rather than a mere supplier. The simplest and by far the most important exercise in this direction is to get the institutional administrator to study the problems of student flow in his institution, e.g. enrolments, promotions, repeaters, drop-outs and migrations. Such a study will not only enable him to assess the internal educational output of his institution but become aware of such important questions of the community as population distribution, non-schooling gap, needs of handicapped children, trends in educational aspirations of the people and the external output of his institution - namely, the manner in which the alumni were absorbed into the labour force. Once he begins to ask himself how his own institution is able to cope with the situation these studies reveal, he will not only see the value of planning but be convinced of his role in that process. Besides, performing his task of supplying statistical data more intelligently and, definitely, more willingly and enthusiastically, he will be in a position to present the local picture more comprehensively for the benefit of the policy-making level.

The next role of the institutional administrator is to be the mouthpiece of the educational planning organization to teachers, pupils, parents and the community. At all stages of planning as well as in plan implementation, he will be relied upon by all around him as the most knowledgeable person as regards impending developments in education. This is true whatever the position of the institutional administrator is, for the lower he is in rank, qualifications, experience and authority the greater the chances that he serves in a backward community where his intellectual leadership is of paramount importance.

To gain the confidence and zeal of the institutional administrator in a new educational concept or project is, for the most part, to ensure wider community co-operation. Here, the planning organization has a responsibility: it should ensure that relevant information is made available in a form, accessible and understood by all types of institutional administrators. This is particularly important to prevent a common pitfall, namely, that of leaving the institutional administrator in a position to mislead the community with false hopes, thus creating dissension, frustration and even political problems. For instance, a local headmaster reading or hearing only the highly publicized demagogic utterances of the Minister may expect certain facilities for his school, while the plan, drawn with due regard to economic realities, may provide nothing; it is important for him to know what the plan is likely to give him rather than be misled by slogans. The complications arising from his ignorance become worse when certain prestige-giving facilities(e.g. science laboratories, workshops, gynmasia and upper classes) are assigned to other schools in the neighbourhood on the basis of a regional plan which has taken population distribution, transportation, power and water supply etc., into consideration. It is a tremendous administrative convenience at the time of plan implementation if the administrator of each institution knows why his institution did or did not get those facilities, for any attempt on his part to mobilize popular support and partisan political interference or exploit local rivalries and jealousies can nullify a plan altogether or at least delay its implementation - thus complicating its phasing and expenditure pattern. One of the ways in which the institutional administrator can be made to take a wider look at the educational system and to realize the relative position of his own institution is to involve him directly in the regional planning operations. Experience has shown it to be most efficacious for he:

(a) brings to bear on the regional plan his personal and intimate knowledge of local conditions;

(b) presents and examines his claims in relation to those of others;

(c) understands the reasons for decisions;

(d) appreciates compromises necessitated by various factors;

(e) becomes responsible as a party to the decision-making process, and,

(f) assumes the responsibility of explaining to (and winning the support of) his teachers, pupils, parents, etc.

II. Role of the Inspector/Supervisor/Adviser

All that was said in respect of the institutional administrator applies with equal validity to the inspector, supervisor or adviser who constitutes the operation-supervisory level of educational administration. Whether he is responsible for education in a geographically defined area or for a level or type of education or even a special subject, he is in a position to co-ordinate, within his sphere of responsibility, the planning functions of institutional administrators. There is a special reason why he should be made to collect and analyse statistical data from institutions under his control: the general tendency, as observed in most countries, is for him to be merely a forwarding agency between the institution and the educational statistics unit; and, as such, he rarely uses them to evaluate the educational performance of his area as a whole or project its future requirements. The availability of regionally processed data will be an enormous help to the planning organization and the inspectorate, when properly orientated, can handle this function at an adequate level of performance.

The inspector/superviser/adviser, who has been prepared for his planning role both through training and continuous informational services, should be able to:

(i) examine, in consultation with practising teachers as well as through research, the manner in which the 'variables', discussed in the earlier section, can be modified in relation to his area to bring about optimal results;

(ii) analyse professionally, for the guidance of the policy-making level, the social, economic, cultural and political attitudes, demands and aspirations of the area;

(iii) consult the public and local professional interests on matters relating to objectives, targets and priorities of the plan;

(iv) preside over discussions of institutional administrators, arbitrate over their claims and settle priorities for guidance at both the planning and the implementing stage; and

(v) be the pivot of the local informational service which will ensure the co-operation and the support of the people to the plan.

The effectiveness of his role depends on a combination of his dual functions as a technical adviser and an administrator. It is in his technical capacity that he will sponsor, encourage, undertake and co-ordinate studies and researches into methodological and pedagogic aspects of planning. There is, no doubt, that this aspect of his duties is proving to be increasingly important and even indispensable to educational planning, for the process of quantitatively expanding the existing system has not only proved to be the primary cause of the present educational problems in the world but also the principal reason for not looking for changes and innovations. It is by giving his technical work the orientation required by planning that his contribution can be made significant.

There is, in the minds of many people, a major doubt as to the possibility of evolving an instructional methodology which would lead to a substantial difference in educational expenditure. Philip H. Coombs, for example, argued:

> "To assume that costs per student will be held at a standstill by far-reaching economy-producing innovations still to be introduced is to indulge in fantasy. Such fantasy can produce a further decline in quality; it can dangerously mislead higher authorities and the general public, and be followed by disenchantment and cynicism."

Of course, such statements are based on what he calls an 'unpleasant forecast' "based on the assumption of educational 'business-as-usual'". But the possibility of evolving economy-producing innovations in methodology cannot be altogether denied. Coombs, himself, admits:

> "It is conceivable ... that there could be great cost-reducing educational innovations that would make our forecasts read like a giant misprint."(1)

The arm of the educational administration, which is best qualified and equipped to pave the way for such innovations, is undoubtedly the inspectorate with its close contact with the operational level, its proximity to the people, and, above all, its pedagogical profile. The recognition of this fact should lead to measures whereby the inspectorate is relieved of routine administrative functions which, we observed, took too much of its working time. (Vide p. 43ff). The mobilization of the inspector/superviser/adviser and the institutional administrator jointly in this venture and providing them with all the facilities, incentives and encouragement, they need, should receive the highest priority in orienting educational administration to planning.

III. Role of the intermediate level administrator

The role of the intermediate level administrator in educational planning varies according to his position. If he is the regional representative of the educational executive, he will be responsible for both the preparation and implementation of the regional plan and will thus be directly involved in the determination of priorities and alternatives in respect of the region and the elaboration of the plan into programmes and projects. He will also be entrusted with the task of deciding (or, at least, recommending) the location of projects. If he is the administrative head of a local school system, his role in planning will be more important than even that of the educational executive. He will be at the spearhead of the planning process for the system or the local area and, with whatever guidance he gets from his lay board, will function as the professional leader for his schools. But, if he represents a denominational or private management, his role will be limited by the degree to which his institutions are incorporated in the national plan and he is consulted by the planning organization. Of course, it is possible that he has his own plan for his institutions.(1)

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(1) Philip H. Coombs: The World Educational Crisis, p. 51.

The regional representative of the educational executive will be the highest administrative officer to have an over-all view of educational needs, problems, objectives and targets from a geographical point of view. Above him, the officers of the executive and policy-making levels will look at them from the point of view of the national situation or their particular speciality. Thus he, alone, will have the opportunity to highlight the special requirements of his region and to ensure that they are met by the provisions of the plan. For the major part, this function will be fulfilled by co-ordinating the efforts of the inspectorate and the institutional administrator. But it is in no way an easy task, mainly because he is caught between local pressures - usually in the form of the rising social demand for more and better education - and the political and financial realities as represented by the higher echelons of the educational administration and the government. His becomes an extremely difficult and delicate role of representing the interests and points of view of one group to the other, while, for the sake of his own effectiveness, maintaining the confidence of both. The very nature of this function requires that he be both assisted and guided by a technically competent staff and by a representative cross-section of the people. There is a strong case for the establishment of a regional planning organization, similar in structure and composition to the Ministry of Education Planning Organization, to help him in the decision-making process. Such an organization will, besides involving the local interests in the planning of educational development for the region, provide an opportunity for the administration to meet at the source itself and deal with political factors which often interfere with the implementation of plans. It is easier for a representative body to solve political difficulties through negotiations and compromises than for a civil servant operating through bureaucratic procedure.

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(1) For a discussion on this subject see Planification de l'éducation (Seminaire Catholique International, Louvain, 10-12 September, 1964) F.I.U.C. (France) and O.I.E.C. (Belgium), 1965.

The above discussion reveals the planning role of the regional representative of the educational executive as a fusion of three distinct roles, i.e. (a) co-ordinator of activities of the lower levels; (b) arbitrator in matters of local rivalry and competition over his own subordinate officers as well as members of the public and (c) negotiator and bargainer among local politicians, interests and higher levels of educational administration. Such a role calls for an administrative acumen of the highest order, specially as he operates so close to the scene of operations where one encounters more exposed nerves than elsewhere. It is borne out by experience in many countries that failures in plan implementation are mostly due to the inadequate attention paid to the vital need of securing the most competent officers to man this position.

IV. Role of the specialized services of the Ministry

The current approach to educational planning makes it necessary to examine the place of the specialized services of the Ministry of Education in relation to the planning organization. Such services have been in existence - of course, at varying levels of competence - to handle educational statistics, curriculum (or, at least, schemes of studies and syllabuses), school architecture, building construction, estimating costs, budgeting and accounting. The establishment of planning units appears to have, sometimes, created a false sense of satisfaction that a more efficient machinery than those already in operation has been set in motion to look after all the technical aspects of planning. As a result, not only are the specialized services denuded of their essential trained personnel but, more often than not, these services are duplicated in the planning unit. Such an approach is, for instance, seen in a recommendation made to one developing country of rather modest means; it was advised to set up a special planning organization comprising no less than 15 senior officers at the centre and 18 others in the provinces. The breakdown of the staff was as follows:

1 Head of the Planning Section
1 Assistant Head
1 Head, Department of Elementary and Intermediate Education
2 Planning Officers in " " " "
1 Follow-up Officer in " " " "
1 Finance and Costing Officer " " "
1 Head, Department of Secondary Education
2 Planning Officers in " "
1 Follow-up Officer in " "
1 Finance and Costing Officer in Secondary Education
1 Head, Department of Economics of Education
1 Officer in Methodology of Financing and Costing
1 Officer in Economics of Elementary and Intermediate Education
1 Officer in Economics of Secondary Education
1 Officer in Economics of School Building
9 Planning Officers for Provinces
9 Statisticians for Provinces

While the new jargon, adopted by planning technicians, may create the impression that some unusually new kinds of duties are attached to these positions, a careful examination of their job-descriptions reveals that much of what is envisaged is already being done, most likely by officers with at least the basic theoretical knowledge needed for them. What would happen on creation of the Planning Unit is that they would be drafted to it with or without further training, thus leaving the specialized services in a chaotic condition. The more urgent need, therefore, is to see the extent to which the existing services can be reoriented to meet the demands of planning.

Each of the specialized services, we have in mind, have two distinct types of functions; namely, 'maintenance' and 'planning'. The Statistical and Documentation Services, which handle the collection, the processing and the analysis of data and statistics as a planning function, have to perform regular 'maintenance' functions such as compiling statistical reports and abstracts for various governmental and international publications, furnishing special data in support of proposals to Cabinet, Parliament and Foreign Aid Agencies, supplying information to national and foreign researchers and, in a parliamentary system of government where questions of members are given high priority, answering or helping others to answer questions involving statistical data. Similarly, the Accounting Services have to carry on their day-to-day functions of paying salaries, settling bills, entering into contracts, placing orders for supplies, keeping records, controlling expenditure, auditing, etc., in addition to the planning functions of budgeting and overseeing the rate of expenditure and the progress of projects. The School Architecture and Building Services are likewise entrusted with the dual roles of programming and executing building schemes.

Experience in most countries shows that 'maintenance' functions receive much more than the quota of attention due to them. But to give planning function an emphasis to the detriment of the others would be no solution. What is important is to recognize the relevance of both types of functions and provide the requisite personnel, facilities and direction to enable both of them to be carried out satisfactorily. In the Planning Organization, recommended by us (Vide p. 107 ff), special care was taken to show that specialized branches should exist independently and support the Planning Unit rather than be absorbed into it. That is because their 'maintenance' functions are as important to the over-all responsibilities of educational administration as planning.

But we did specify one function which should be transferred from the Accounting Service to the Planning Unit, that is, budgeting. There are several reasons for this recommendation:

(a) the budget is the faithful servant of the Plan. There is no legal instrument of government better suited for phasing planned development than the budget. The correlation of annual financial provisions with the Plan remains the most effective means of ensuring the implementation of a plan;

(b) the preparation of the budget is not merely an accounting exercise. It is being recognized and used as a strategy by which policies are translated into concrete units of action;

(c) the methodology of preparing a budget is being reviewed by administrators and planners who are anxious to make it as full and comprehensive a statement as possible of not only immediately required action but also its foreseen development and trends. The Planning Programming Budgeting System (PPBS) is an example how a budget can be made to reflect objectives, targets and priorities of a plan as well as the rate of progress towards their fulfilment;

(d) the recognition of the budget as a planning instrument also leads to improvements in accounting and auditing procedures. Financial analyses necessitated in the process highlight the need for research in costing and financing, while the constant search for more funds to finance objectives of the Plan results in the evolution of a system of efficiency auditing, where expenditure is not audited merely against authorizations but also against the net outcome. This type of approach to accounting is very important in educational expenditure, specially if a serious quest for cost-reducing factors is to be made.

V. Role of Line Directors

In orienting the specialized services of a Ministry of Education to requirements of planning, special attention has to be paid to the functions of the Line Directors who are usually assumed to be responsible for:

(i) curriculum development and renewal;

(ii) evaluation and measurement of scholastic achievements;

(iii) preparation and publication or screening and approval of textbooks, background literature and teaching aids;

(iv) pre-service and in-service training of teachers;

(v) educational and vocational guidance and counselling;

(vi) interpretation of manpower requirements in relation to educational qualifications and types and levels of training, and

(vii) research.

One finds no difficulty in identifying these subjects as the core of the educational system. But, as we observed in our cursory glance at the educational administration as it operates, they receive relatively less attention from both administrators and educationalists (Vide p. 25). The Line Directors find themselves overwhelmed with time-consuming routine duties, particularly in respect of personnel administration. There are still many countries where no organizational arrangements are made to handle them. Of course, they have some branch or division to issue syllabuses and schemes of studies and to maintain training colleges for teachers. But the syllabuses and schemes of studies may be 'scissor-and-paste' versions of foreign ones, which have not been revised for several decades or brought up-to-date in content or adapted to economic, social and cultural requirements of the local population. The training of teachers may also be on age-worn syllabuses and schemes of study and provisions may not exist for follow-up work on their graduates or to re-train teachers to meet the demands of a changing curriculum.

The most important factor, to be borne in mind when establishing an administrative organization to undertake these subjects, is that none of them can be either taken up in isolation or be parcelled according to levels and types of education. The institution of Line Directors suffers seriously from the compartmentalization of functions and responsibilities to such a degree as to make it a crucial problem in educational administration. The situation is worse when their duties are allocated according to levels of education (i.e. primary, secondary, higher, vocational, etc.) than when the functions are divided according to subjects (e.g. curriculum, guidance, research, text-books, etc.). Whatever the division of duties among them be, their functions are inextricably intertwined and have to be approached as a closely-knit system where an operation in one is both a cause and an effect of an operation in another. The curriculum depends heavily on the interpretation of manpower requirements while the system of examinations, text-books, teaching aids, and teacher-training are direct means of achieving changes and innovations in the curriculum, whereas counselling determines pupil participation in curricular programmes. Similarly vocational guidance is tied up with both the curriculum and the manpower requirements. An isolated innovation in any one field may either be futile and inoperative or lead to disruption, e.g. the revision of text-books without developing the curriculum or changing the curriculum without training the teachers or modifying the content of teaching without altering the syllabuses of examinations or guiding pupils into special fields of training without ascertaining the related manpower requirements can only lead to chaos. Finally, all these are dependent on research. No educational innovations are feasible or desirable unless they are based on both research and experimentation. The purpose of research in education has to be the modification of the 'variables', we have identified in the educational process (Vide p.130), for the dual benefits of minimizing costs and maximizing effectiveness. For such a strong measure of interdependance, co-ordination and co-operation, the present institution of Line Directors in most countries has to be drastically modified.

VI. Role of research services

The attitude to research needs further clarification. It has been, sometimes, found that the research unit of a Ministry of Education, more so than any other unit, works in a water-tight compartment and concentrates on problems of a historical nature. It is, of course, argued that no survey, study or research project is entirely useless for their results help the process of decision-making. But the question of priorities is more important in planning research than any other activity in education. Researchers are presumably high-level technicians, who are quite rare in any country and, therefore, well-remunerated. Besides, research techniques call for a substantial investment in both hardware and software as well as human resources. As in the case of collecting statistical data and such other information, money, time and energy, spent on research, are justified only to the degree its results are useful in making decisions realistically. An elaborate research project on the evolution of the legal basis of education in a country will be of no practical use unless it leads to criteria which can be relied on in promulgating new educational laws. Otherwise, such a study remains a valuable contribution to only history and not to administration or planning. The disinterested quest for knowledge, as emphasized by universities in their approach to fundamental research, is not for the research unit of a Ministry of Education; it cannot be unmindful of the urgent need to solve problems through such knowledge as can be immediately applied to existing situations. A major administrative problem, which calls for patient and tactful handling, is the reorientation of university-trained fundamental research workers, generally assigned to educational ministries, to an attitude of being active and practical problem-solvers.

The research unit, per se, may not be the best organization to decide on (or assign priorities to) research projects. We envisaged the Planning Unit to be in a better position (Vide p.133). It is, however, more advisable to make it a responsibility of the Educational Planning Organization itself, for the organization of educational research has become a complex operation as:

(a) educational research calls for an interdisciplinary approach which necessitates the utilization and co-ordination of teams of workers distributed in diverse institutions, not necessarily under the administrative control of the Ministry of Education;

(b) compilation, scrutiny, evaluation and distribution of the results of widely scattered small-scale research and experimental projects (often undertaken by teachers, institutional administrators and the field staff) form an important function in avoiding duplication as well as maximizing their application;

(c) new dimensions have to be added to researches in progress, e.g. studies in content, methods and structure, usually motivated by a quest for educational efficacy, should also be related to questions of cost and national needs, and

(d) research into administrative procedures through management analysis and operations research has to receive as much attention as other aspects of the educational effort.

VII. Role of the manpower directorate

While well-conceived and efficiently executed research projects within the Ministry of Education can assist in solving problems of curriculum, text-books, teaching aids and materials and examinations, the interpretation of manpower requirements in relation to educational qualifications and types and levels of training - a problem directly connected with educational and vocational guidance and counselling - calls for a concerted effort with authorities outside the sphere of education as well as an efficient machinery for the dissemination of information to pupils, parents and the general public. The specialized service, in charge of this function, faces five major difficulties, namely:

(i) the manpower forecasts may be so poor and unreliable that they can be used in decision-making only with very great care;(1)

(ii) educational qualifications required for a particular job cannot be foreseen adequately in advance to train students through the regular school system, as developments in the economy and advances in technology keep such requirements constantly changing;

(iii) the type of training (i.e. short-term and on-the-job training and apprenticeship) which fits a person to particular jobs is, generally, available through unstructured non-formal education, for which efforts of many agencies in both the public and the private sector have to be mobilized and co-ordinated;

(iv) the social and cultural demands and aspirations of individuals deviate very seriously and, where the State machinery - either for ideaological reasons or due to practical difficulties - does not control means of production and minimize the liberty of the individual, all remedial actions to correlate educational output with manpower requirements have to be in the form of propaganda or mass education;(1) and

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(1) Cf. Rapport Général de la Commission de l'Equippement scolaire, Universitaire et Sportif (Commissariat Général du Plan d'Equippement et de la Productivité - V^{e} Plan 1966-1970), p. 30.

(v) the feed-back of data on how the decisions of the service have turned out will not be available for a considerably long time and as such no evaluation of its methodology will be possible in the meantime. Even after that, it may not be able to identify the actual part it had played because the influences which fits a person to a career are multifarious.

To state these difficulties is not to declare this function impossible. The recognition of the difficulties renders the administrators, who are entrusted with it, less dogmatic and more keen to search for new techniques and methods. There is no doubt that educational planning becomes meaningful only to the degree that education is geared to national economic needs, without, of course, sacrificing principal social and cultural ideals.

C. Plan formulation

With the establishment of a suitable planning organization, the inauguration of measures to reform the administrative set-up and to reorient it to planning functions and the collection, analysis and interpretation of statistical data and such other information, the first stage of planning for planning is accomplished. The next is the function of planning which again consists of several distinct steps, e.g.:

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(1) The complexity of this task can be guaged by comparing the political limitations seen in some countries to the type of action taken by the USSR to draw up its summary balance sheet of labour resources, to decide on types and levels of training and specialization, to control admissions to certain courses and institutions and to transfer able-bodied workers from regions with surplus manpower to those in short supply. Vide p.78 ff.IIEP: Educational Planning in the USSR, pp. 85 ff.

(i) the formulation of educational objectives;
(ii) the determination of targets and their phasing;
(iii) the choice of strategies and policies as regards the modification of 'variables' to suit the targets; and
(iv) the setting out of guide-lines on which the technicians would base the arithmatical formulation of the Plan.

These are functions of the Educational Planning Commission/Committee and the difficult and complicated process, called for here, demands as much a philosophical, psychological and sociological approach as a mathematical one and involves as many immeasurable conceptual values as quantifiable targets. Needless to say that the decisions of the Commission/Committee are to be arrived at on the basis of a full range of consultations at all levels.

The First Draft of the Plan, which the Planning Unit as the secretariat of the Educational Planning Commission/Committee prepares, will be nothing more than the elaboration and logical arrangement of decisions made by the Commission/Committee. Its main objectives will be to:

(a) achieve a measure of internal consistency among different programmes and projects;
(b) indicate, through systematic costing and cost analysis, the adequacy or otherwise of resources made available to education by the Central Planning Organization;
(c) suggest an order of priority and a pattern of phasing for various activities, particularly those like building, equipping and teacher-training which precede the inauguration of an educational programme; and
(d) establish, by means of cost-benefit and cost-effectiveness analyses, the economic feasibility of the Plan as a whole as well as of specific projects included in it.

Being a document primarily meant for the Commission/Committee as a basis for the revision of its targets, strategies and policies in the light of the over-all picture it presents, it will, naturally, be confidential and limited in circulation. It is presumed that the Planning Unit will not only pinpoint the issues to be decided by the Commission/Committee but also suggest alternative approaches in matters which need reconsideration due to problems of feasibility, inadequacy of reasources, consistency, etc. A principal difficulty, which the Planning Unit faces at this stage, is with the problem of consistency. It begins with a theoretical consideration whether consistency is essential in a plan. As Anderson and Bowman had argued;

> "Certainly consistency is a requisite, if we mean by planning a realistic appraisal of alternatives and of impossibilities and the development of strategies and tactics that are mutually supportive. To be consistent will be to co-ordinate the components of decision-sets to provide order rather than chaos and to reconcile competing ends. ... There is a case against, as well as a case for, consistency. When it becomes a planner's fetish it strengthens biases towards technocratic values. The problem is not that errors of forecasting are so great as to make scrupulous concern with detailed consistency irrelevant. Nor is the objection only that this sort of an image of what planning 'should be' has led in the past to patch-work attempt to conceal planning failures. More important is what consistency leaves out."(1)

It cannot be overemphasized that mathematical consistency - as in a model - is in itself insufficient in educational planning, where the consistency of ideological goals is equally or more important. But the technician rarely attempts it primarily because he is not trained or equipped to handle it. It is important to be mindful that the First Draft prepared by the Planning Unit can often be misleading if:

(a) the search for mathematical consistency has distorted the educational objectives as decided by the Commission/Committee;

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(1) C. Arnold Anderson and Mary Jean Bowman: 'Theoretical considerations in Educational Planning', World Year Book of Education 1967 - Educational Planning, p. 36.

(b) errors and uncertainties of forecasting are not taken into consideration before rigid limits are placed on any activity;

(c) actual conditions militating against consistency are concealed without examining why they create inconsistencies; and

(d) factors outside the educational system, affecting the consistency of the Plan, are not taken notice of.

As important as the internal consistency of the Plan is its consistency in relation to the macro-economic plan of the nation. A question which might be legitimately raised here is whether the Planning Unit of the Ministry of Education is competent to ensure it or whether the Central Planning Organization or the Ministry of Finance should come into the picture at the stage of the First Draft itself. We have assumed that the Educational Planning Commission/Committee and the Planning Unit of the Ministry of Education works on information supplied by the Central Planning Organization and under its direction, within limitations placed by it on their work. (Vide p.100). As such, it would be too premature to consult the Central Planning Organization or the Ministry of Finance before the Educational Planning Commission/Committee could ascertain whether their targets, strategies and policies are accurately recorded by the Planning Unit.

The Second Draft, which will embody the revised strategies and policies, will be the basis for:

(a) professional criticism by statutory, advisory or operational boards within the Ministry of Education and ministries which execute allied functions;

(b) discussions with agencies controlling various aspects of education (e.g. regional departments of education, local government authorities, local education authorities, school boards, religious and private school managements, etc.);

(c) consultations with representatives of institutional administrators, parents, teachers, educational trade unions and student movements;

(d) negotiations with the Central Planning Organization, the Ministry of Finance, the Treasury and other governmental agencies connected with the Plan (e.g. Public Works Department re buildings, Land Department re expropriation of land) as well as private agencies (e.g. publishers, printers, and sellers of text-books, manufacturers, importers and distributors of teaching aids and science equipment); and

(e) assessment of political reaction.

To reach the wide network of organizations and individuals, envisaged above, the Second Draft should be a detailed presentation of all relevant data. Meticulous care should be taken in its preparation:

(i) to ensure that it is in plain language with little or no technical jargon and 'mystifying magic';(1)

(ii) to make it both readable and convincing as a document meant to win the support of the people rather than baffle them; and

(iii) to emphasize that everything contained in it is for examination and criticism and is bound to be amended in the light of comments made by the people.

An administrative query is likely to be made as regards the authority under whose hand the Second Draft is to be issued to the public. It is not unusual for the educational executive to dissociate itself from such a document until it 'feels the pulse of the people'. The common strategum is to issue the document as a piece of work of technicians and, if criticisms mount, to join the critics and denounce technicians as either too theoretical or politically naive. It is in the interest of planning that such a situation should be avoided at all costs. It is equally dangerous to issue it under the hand of the Minister, for, sooner or later, he is bound to be drawn into a controversy with his political opponents and issues will be decided not on their merits but on grounds of prestige and face-saving. The most desirable course of action is for the Educational Planning Commission/Committee - which will be adequately high-powered and representative to be impersonal - to take the responsibility.

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(1) It is interesting to observe that in the Netherlands such a 'draft' is expected to have the following characteristics: (i) it is much shorter; (ii) most of the technical aspects of the investigation are dealt with in appendices; (iii) professional jargon is avoided; (iv) the line of reasoning is integrated into considerations of general policy. OECD: Educational Planning in the Netherlands, loc.cit., p. 88.

Needless to say, the psychological climate created by throwing the document open to public criticism would become fruitful only if an adequately efficient machinery is established at the Ministry to receive and process the comments with the seriousness and objectivity they deserve. Newspapers, public meetings, seminars, interviews, deputations and memoranda are among the main means by which public opinion will be normally expressed. Where the television and radio systems are not entirely under governmental control, these, too, will provide opportunities for free comment. Violence is resorted to only where freedom of opinion is curtailed or public opinion is disregarded. If the machinery handling criticism is reasonably receptive and considerate, there will be no need for either the public or any section affected by the Plan to have recourse to any disorderly or violent forms of expressing its disapproval of any proposals.

It is advisable to bear in mind a source of immense inconvenience, embarrassment and trouble so that safeguards are taken before the Draft Plan is placed before the people. That is the regional problem which Pitambar Pant explains in the following terms:

> "It is very difficult to carry conviction to people whose interests are at stake with the simple argument of national interest where thinking is confined to a short horizon of time and the alternative of letting the project go is to have no project for the region at all.(1) But the proposition would be seen in a different light if the needs of different regions were to be clearly

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(1) In an educational plan, such disputes arise regarding the location of prestigeous institutions and facilities, e.g. universities, colleges, central science laboratories.

> anticipated in a perspective plan of say 15 years so that people of every region are able to find their own place in an over-all and regionwise design of development, with activities spelt out in space and overtime. There could then be a reasonable chance to persuade them to await their turn in respect of their own share of projects which would be both to their benefit and to the benefit of the nation, instead of clamouring for others manifestly unsuited for their region. In this way regional and national interests could be reconciled."(1)

Pant's solution is to prepare a long-term perspective plan to accompany the short-term plan. This is an important question to be settled by the Educational Planning Organization right at the commencement of planning. There is a strong case for a Perspective Plan, covering a 15-20 year period, as a prelude to a regular five- or seven-year plan. Another, and perhaps more relevant to educational planning, is to leave out questions of location of projects and institutions from the Plan, as these belong to the stage of elaborating and implementing the Plan. Unless the discussion of a special approach to problems of a region is absolutely necessary (i.e. when the development of a backward region is emphasized or the rehabilitation of a particular linguistic, racial or cultural group is considered to be of national importance), the Plan should deal with the national picture.

Lest any idealistic administrator become disappointed with the public and lose faith in the efficacy of consultation or a Minister or the ruling party become discouraged and develop cold feet, he should be warned that a fair proportion of the criticism will come from:

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(1) P. Pant: Some Thoughts on Perspective Planning (August 1962), quoted by H.K. Paranjape: Political and Administrative Problems of Implementing the Indian Plan - (Third Annual Meeting of Directors of Training Institutes in the Field of Economic Co-operation and Development, Berlin-Tegel, 9-11 September 1963), p. 19.

(a) uninformed quarters who are carried away by slogans rather than sense and somewhat inclined to impute dishonourable motives to anything;

(b) parochial vested interests whose self-interest is placed above public or general good;

(c) political 'rabble-rousers' for whom any issue is good enough if it can be twisted and slanted to embarrass the government in power; and

(d) self-appointed critics who see something wrong with everything but have no constructive suggestions to offer.

One thing that everyone connected with planning should learn is to sift the chaff of such comments and criticisms and identify those which are valid and useful for the revision of the Plan. There are several pitfalls he should avoid at all costs: for instance, there is what may be called 'manufactured public opinion' - namely, the opinion of an interested few which is blown upto a magnitude far above its real size as a result of the control that group has over mass media; again, the validity of a proposal cannot be judged by counting the heads of those openly against it, for opinions in favour of a proposal are not expressed with as much enthusiasm as those against it and, even when expressed, they receive less publicity.

Much patience and understanding will have to be exercised in dealing with the direct beneficiaries of the educational system for theirs is as much a voice of reason as one of emotion. To parents the future of their offspring in school and the educational opportunities for those yet to attend school are matters of greater significance than anything else a plan promises. To teachers their professional security and growth are as important as (if not, more important than) any other educational target. To pupils the relevance of what is taught appears to be the foremost matter to be settled. The opinions of these three groups may not be always technically perfect. Their emotional commitments, narrowness of vision and interests, inexperience or even immaturity may interfere with objectivity of thought and lead them to wrong and untenable conclusions. But no plan can succeed unless their support is forthcoming. But their concurrence cannot be obtained either through an authoritarian exercise of administrative or political power or through gimmicks and strategems. It is mainly here that a new approach to educational administration becomes vital. As the Working Paper of the International Conference on Educational Planning, Paris 6-14 August 1968, emphasizes:

> "Informing, consulting, persuading others and learning for oneself, that is, educating and being educated, are at the basis of an effective administration of education. There is nothing extraordinary in that. Since administration cannot be different in nature from what it administers, the administration of education cannot itself be other than an educational process."(1)

The assessment of the political reaction to the Second Draft is a more complex operation. In a parliamentary system three alternatives are available:

- (i) presenting in parliament the major policies, embodied in the Plan, in the form of a White Paper for a full-scale debate;
- (ii) discussing the Second Draft at a meeting of the Government Parliamentary Group;
- (iii) obtaining the reaction of political parties through either deputations or memoranda.

The first method has an advantage in that members of the opposition, too, are given an opportunity to express their views and, where the leaders adopt a statesmanlike attitude, the discussion can be above the petty and parochial bickerings of party politics. The third approach becomes necessary only if the pressure on parliamentary time is so great as to preclude an open discussion.

A question often asked by administrators as well as planning technicians is whether they are obliged in these discussions, consultations and debates to 'defend' the Plan. Some are of the view that any attempt to do so may be misconstrued as either official partiality or curtailment of free expression of opinion. There is no doubt that those officially involved in preparing and formulating the Plan have more information and background knowledge than one finds expressed in the document under discussion. So, a clear - and certainly an objective-exposition of: (i) why a particular alternative is chosen in preference to others; (ii) what prevents the adoption of a proposal which on the face of it appears attractive, and (iii) why priority is assigned to a particular activity and not another is expected of them at every discussion whether in Parliament or outside. Further, there is always the need to clarify certain aspects of the Plan, clear misunderstandings, remove incorrect impressions, rectify errors in data and supply further information. All these cannot be performed by the Planning Unit alone. All branches of the Ministry of Education and, quite possibly, other ministries performing certain educational functions will have to play their role in 'defence' of the Plan. But the Planning Unit will have to bear the tremendous responsibility of marshalling all their resources. Such a responsibility demands that a co-equal authority be vested in it.

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(1) Unesco: ED/ICEP/3, p. 170.

The preparation of the Third Draft will need a fresh set of guidelines from the Commission/Committee in the light of the opinions expressed by various persons, organizations and political agencies. To obtain these decisions, the Planning Unit should identify the principal points of controversy, suggest alternative solutions and indicate limitations imposed by resources, feasibility and the need for consistency. The period of preparing the Third Draft will be marked by feverish activity in the form of:

(a) studies, surveys and research projects, found necessary before changing, under pressure of public or political opinion, certain courses of action proposed in the Second Draft;

(b) informal consultations with the Central Planning Organization, the Ministry of Finance and the Treasury to obtain their concurrence to changes in the costing of the Plan; and

(c) above all, discussions with the chief executive or head of the government to keep him informed of major policy issues as well as to obtain his services as an arbitrator in disputes between the Educational Planning Organization and the Central Planning Organization or the Ministry of Finance.

The involvement of the head of the government at this stage is found extremely helpful in pluralistic democracies where racial and religious minorities operate powerful lobbies. With all the opportunities given to them at various stages of formulating the Plan, they would insist - and they always succeed in their efforts - on presenting their points of view to the highest authority. To ignore this fact is to court difficulties which may even result in shelving the Plan.

The numerous informal discussions and consultations which take place at this stage constitute the most important part of the planning process. In these the administrators and planning technicians play the role of 'bargainers'.

Once the Third Draft is approved by the Commission/Committee, it has the authority of a technically as well as politically acceptable document for which the prior concurrence of everyone concerned has been informally obtained. Under such circumstances, the final approval of the Plan by Government and its incorporation in the legislative enactments of the country (as done in some places) are purely formal.

It may be asked whether the educational plan should always be dealt with as something independent of the national development plan. In reality, no sectoral plan can be independent of the over-all national development plan. Hence, the need for prior direction by and constant consultation with the Central Planning Organization. But the detailed formulation of the educational plan is a specialized task and, like similar sectoral plans in other fields of governmental activity, is best done by administrators and technicians most intimately connected with the subject. But as far as the formulation of the Plan and its final implementation are concerned, it matters little whether the approval of Government and Parliamentary sanction are obtained for it as a part of the national development plan or not. Even if only the broad objectives and targets of investment of the educational plan are incorporated in a comprehensive national plan (e.g. plans of USSR., India and France), the details, which may or may not appear as appendices or annexes to it, are necessary both to win the co-operation of the public and to facilitate implementation.

How long will all these take? From the time the Government of a country decides to plan education to the final approval of its first education plan may take anything from two to five years depending on its political stability and maturity and the effectiveness of its administrative organization. There is little that can be done to shorten this period. Much of it will be needed for the initial stages of planning to plan, while the training of planning technicians as well as reorienting the administration to planning needs will take a longer time. What is important to note is that some of the functions, inaugurated at the commencement of planning, will have to go on right through the plan period and beyond and provision, therefore, has to be made in the Plan for their continuance. Improvement of the collection, the processing and the analysis of data, administrative reforms and research into diverse aspects of education and techniques of planning are among such functions. There can be no short cuts in this process and time taken to develop sound planning techniques and to strengthen the administrative and public support to planning is an investment of the greatest significance.

D. Plan implementation

I. Information

The first and the most important function, which the educational administration has to undertake on being entrusted with the implementation of the Plan, is the organization of an efficient information service. The successful implementation of the Plan depends very heavily on the public co-operation enlisted and the popular enthusiasm generated through a well-organized process of 'educating' the masses on the objectives and targets, means and methods as well as the rationale behind the choice of priorities. This task is altogether different from the invitation extended to the public to criticize and comment on the Second Draft. While, at that stage, the concern of the administration is to gather and analyse as many constructive suggestions and criticisms so as to make the Plan as representative as possible of the prevailing public opinion, the operation now has to be one of '*proselytization*'. All innovations cause anxieties to those directly affected by them and, in education, they centre round one of the most precious possessions of man - the children. So fears are expressed not in an abstract form on general issues but from a strongly subjective and, hence, emotionally charged point of view of how each decision affects the future of a particular child - one's son or daughter or ward. The information service becomes effective if it provides for frank and informed discussion of these fears and anxieties rather than for official assurances and promises, or for sermons and pep talks on such threadbare themes as the subjection of individual welfare to the public good. It has to be remembered that the first thing the people want to know are the implications of various decisions. They would like to reach their own conclusions on facts presented to them. This is the fundamental cause of the negative attitude the people take to official information services; to avoid it, the only solution is to soft-pedal the propaganda line and lay greater stress on trusting the public with a policy of 'all cards on the table'. If the Plan is well conceived, and its formulation is guided by an adequate consideration of popular aspirations, such a policy would not be too difficult to adopt.(1)

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(1) The speed with which a new idea in education finds acceptance and eventual implementation is governed by the political ideology and machinery of the country. In the U.S.A., Paul R. Mort estimated the time taken as 20 to 35 years. In the People's Republic of China, Lu Ting-yi claims that education can be manipulated as quickly as other production devices.

Cf. Paul R. Mort and Douglas H. Ross: Principles of School Administration, New York, MacGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1957, p. 185; and Reller and Morphet: *loc.cit.*, p. 276.

At the spearhead of the information movement should be the head of the government, the Minister of Education and his cabinet colleagues and the senior officers of the educational administration. They should use every opportunity to assuage fears of the people and to highlight the advantages of achieving the targets of the Plan. Every form of mass media will have to be used for this purpose - the most effective being public meetings and television and radio discussions in which questions are freely asked and convincingly replied. The impact becomes effective when the public meet the educational decision-makers on an equal footing and this can be best achieved by utilizing local and institutional organizations as forums for discussion. It is useful to remember always that the participative method can lead to greater production and efficiency as well as to higher morale.(1)

It must, however, be remembered that the public to whom such information services are directed fall into two categories:

(a) the people, who as voters, form the source of political power; and

(b) the direct beneficiaries of the educational system (i.e. pupils, teachers and parents).

Their attitude to the Plan varies according to the category to which they belong. It has, often, been demonstrated particularly in the U.S.A. where school policies are decided by popular vote that category (a) could object to educational development on grounds of rising costs and resulting tax burden.(2) While this group expresses anxieties over what they may consider to be extravagances, the category (b) may have genuine fears about the inadequacy of provisions made in the Plan to meet the demands of a growing educational system. It is certainly no easy task to bring conviction to both categories. But it has still to be the aim of this information service.

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(1) Cf. Thomas Gorden: Group-centred Leadership, Boston, Mifflin Co., 1955, and Rensis Likert: New Patterns of Management, New York, MacGraw-Hill Book Co., 1961.

(2) In school districts where the property-owning section of the population consists mainly of retired persons with no school-going children, school bonds have been rejected on these grounds, with little consideration to educational needs of the children.

II. Legislation

It is usual for a plan to include the administrative implications of implementing it. Where the enactment of new laws or the issue of regulations, rules or orders under the authority of existing laws are indicated, administrative action to initiate the drafting of such legal instruments has to receive high priority, for the promulgation of laws usually calls for a long and tedious procedure, fraught with political uncertainties, technical difficulties and time-consuming formalities. Further, there is a possibility that a piece of legislation, by the time it emerges from the legislature with amendments accepted under pressure, may illustrate the truth of the saying that the camel is a horse designed by a committee and be rendered ineffective or even obstructive in implementing the Plan. It is always advisable to scrutinize any proposal for new legislation from every possible angle to determine whether it is absolutely indispensable for the implementation of the Plan and, if so, to ascertain the barest minimum that is essential.

Closely related to the problem of legislation is the determination of ways and means by which the participation of local, denominational or private autonomous agencies controlling education is to be ensured in plan implementation. Most countries have all or some of the following means by which such agencies are supervised by the governmental educational administration:

(a) laws which, under pain of cancellation of approval or enforced closure of their school, require such agencies to adhere to the national educational policy;

(b) inspection of facilities as well as instructional activities of their schools; (sometimes related to the function of certifying and merit-grading teachers);

(c) grants-in-aid, loan facilities and tax exemptions, which are subjected to rules and regulations governing the satisfactory functioning of their institutions;

(d) state examination systems which require the approval of their institutions for purposes of presenting candidates.

All these means can be made to serve the administration in securing the compliance of these agencies to requirements of the Plan. In addition to (or instead of) these, it may be possible to use a method of incentives. Special grants or loans have been effectively used to change curricular emphases, composition of teaching staff and methods of instruction in local and private institutions. The education plan of the Netherlands is operated through a system of offering grants-in-aid to those who undertake to establish the kind of institutions envisaged in it. Other incentives than monetary grants have also been used. A precedent of special significance in educational history is the manner in which the Morrel Act of 1864 succeeded in using grants of land to make American higher educational systems alive to the needs of development specially in agriculture and engineering. Both national and foreign training and retraining facilities, placement of foreign experts and allocation of benefits from multilateral and bilateral technical assistance programmes are further means at the disposal of the administration. It is only if none of these bring satisfactory results that legal compulsion should be resorted to. The political controversies and problems, which arise when compulsion is attempted, do more harm than good, and it is advisable in the interest of national education to avoid them. It is advisable to remember that all countries in the world have not reached that level of political maturity and institutional stability which made it possible for the British Minister of Education to exercise his extraordinary powers of intervention in a spirit of working partnership. (Vide p. 38).

III. Organization

The next function for the administration is to organize the process of plan implementation. Where more than one governmental or non-governmental agency plays a special role in the achievement of plan targets, the lines of communication and the machinery for co-ordination and liaison among them should be worked out and where their participation is complex, such techniques as PERT, CPA, RAMPS and SPAR should be employed to establish their interaction on a time-priority basis.

Does plan implementation call for a special administrative organization? Early analysts of administration like Gulick did not see implementation as a major problem and assumed it to be the normal and legitimate function of the chief executive of an enterprise.(1) It is now generally held that the implementation of the Plan is a function of the entire administrative machinery. But so is planning. Nevertheless, it has not prevented the establishment of separate administrative machineries like planning units. It is interesting to examine the causes for the non-implementation of not only educational but also economic plans, for one of them is bound to be the absence of adequate organizational arrangements to co-ordinate the detailed functions of translating intentions into action. Waterston is perfectly correct when he says that the successful implementation of a plan is largely a matter of proper organization and administration and points out that in most less developed countries the greatest obstacles to implementation are administrative.(2) Most countries, which have shown a capacity for a very high standard of performance at plan formulation, reveal a total incapacity to implement their plans. Gerhard Colm and Theodore Geiger argued that the final element of a well-conceived plan was the provision for its implementation and listed the following activities as essential to that function

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(1) Luther Gulick: 'Notes on the Theory of Organization' in Papers on the Science of Administration, loc.cit., p. 13. According to him the work of the chief executive is "the continuous task of making decisions and embodying them in specific and general orders and instructions and serving as the leader of the enterprise".

(2) Waterston: loc.cit., p. 339.

- "the organization of the planning function and its administrative relationships with the chief executive, the policy-making and operating departments of the government and the legislature;
- the assignment of responsibilities of carrying out its component programmes;
- the relationship of the plan to the national budget;
- the role of the fiscal and monetary authorities;
- the provision for progress reporting and evaluation; and
- the selection and training of planning personnel."(1)

Although the task of the Planning Organization is not over with the formulation of the Plan and its responsibility to review, assess, evaluate and revise the Plan, besides preparing for the formulation of the next plan, is a continuing one, it cannot be entrusted with the function of implementation also. In the first place, its operational arm, the Planning Unit, may be too involved with the narrow technical problems of planning to have the broad spectrum of versatility and width of vision necessary to influence the administration as a whole. Further, as Waterston observes, "planners are little likely to concern themselves with the problems of public administration and politics".(2) There is no doubt that those who implement the Plan should be different from those who formulate it.(3)

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(1) Gerhard Colm and Theodore Geiger: 'Country Programming as a guide to development' in Development of the Emerging Countries, Washington D.C., Brookings Institute, 1962, p. 51.

(2) Waterston: loc.cit., p. 339.

(3) Cf. Waterston: loc.cit., p. 336 fn: " ... those who implement a plan may be, and generally should be, different from those who formulate it. But those who formulate plans must respond promptly to events during implementation by adjusting the plan appropriately."

Some may consider the feasibility of creating an Implementation Unit parallel to the Planning Unit. Administratively, there is a justification for such an organization specially if it operates under the direction of the Planning Commission/Committee and in close liaison with the Planning Unit. But its need depends, for the most part, on the magnitude of the administrative machinery which has to be co-ordinated. For most countries, it may be adequately effective to have a loosely knit implementation organization consisting of specially designated officers in each of the operating branches of the Ministry or ministries concerned with the Plan. These officers, whose full-time duty should be the initiation and the co-ordination of activities connected with the Plan within their particular branches, should not be burdened with maintenance functions whose magnitude and urgency, as experience shows, interfere with new activities demanded by plan implementation. Whether such officers should either be organized into a formal body for purposes of mutual consultation and liaison or be brought together in regular conferences and office meetings is a matter to be settled according to prevailing administrative practices of the country. But it is essential that they should maintain a very close liaison among themselves and should be known to and depended on by others as the key officers in the administrative machinery for plan implementation.

IV. Plan elaboration

The next administrative function in plan implementation is what is often called plan elaboration or reducing the Plan into component units for action if this has not been done in the Plan itself. Four phases of this function are envisaged as:

(i) programming;
(ii) regionalization;
(iii) project identification and formulation;
(iv) division of a project into specific activities.

Planners have differences of opinion as to what constitutes a programme, or a project. To the Central Planning Organization, the education plan may only be a programme and the development of higher education a project. But to the Educational Planning Organization the development of higher education may be a programme and the building of a university a project. The degree of confusion caused by the difficulty of defining these two terms, can be realized from the following discussion:

> "A project is any unit of expenditure, which, for reasons of administration, accounting or purpose, it is convenient to define as such. It may range from a grand river-valley scheme to a school, or a small team of experts. A 'programme' is used in the sense of a set of projects which are linked together in that they are economically so complementary that if one is to be carried out then all should be; or that they are all intended to be carried out in a certain period by the same administrative unit. In what follows programmes can be equated with projects. ... To confuse matters, 'programme aid' has sometimes been used in the sense in which we use 'plan aid'."(1)

It is useful for the administration to have a settled definition of these terms as well as an agreed demarcation of each type of activity. It may be convenient to view a programme as a group of projects which have to be accomplished simultaneously or in succession for the achievement of a specific objective of the Plan. But it may also be necessary to look upon a project as a conglomeration of related activities whose performance simultaneously or in succession is required for the accomplishment of a unit of work contributing along with others to the fulfillment of that specific objective.

To illustrate these definitions, we may visualize an education plan which has, among its different objectives and targets, a specific goal relating to the improvement of science education: to achieve that goal, the administration may find it necessary to initiate, within the provisions made in the Plan, a programme which may include such projects as:

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(1) I.M.D. Little and J.M. Clifford: International Aid - A discussion of the flow of public resources from rich to poor countries with particular references to British policy, London, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1965, p. 188.

(i) the provision of more laboratory and classroom accommodation for science students;

(ii) the improvement of curriculum, teaching materials and aids and text-books in science; and

(iii) the training of more science teachers and retraining those already in service.

Each project may consist of several activities; e.g. the project for increasing laboratory and classroom space will call for a series of administrative activities such as locating science centres, expropriating land, drawing or modifying architectural designs, costing and estimating, calling for tenders, selecting contractors, setting out work, technical supervision, acceptance of completed buildings, payments, and equipping. Similarly, the project for the improvement of the curriculum involves appointing committees and task forces to work out details, research and experimentation, consultation with specialists and practising teachers, publication of syllabuses, schemes of work and perhaps course-guides, preparing, publishing and distributing teaching materials and text-books or screening and approving those produced by the private sector, designing, selecting, manufacturing, purchasing or importing teaching aids, establishing resource centres and information clearing houses, organizing schemes of supervision and evaluation and providing machinery for revision and updating. The project for training and retraining of teachers, likewise, consists of several groups of activities relating to building and equipping, development of curriculum and personnel management: they include the location of teachers' colleges, their architectural, building and equipping aspects, recruitment and training of teacher-educators, preparation of new curricula for teachers' colleges, recruitment of new science teachers, release of teachers in service for bull-time or part-time training, organization of refresher courses and provision of follow-up work to keep teachers abreast of new developments.

The activities envisaged in the programme under discussion have a temporal as well as a spatial distribution. There are those which can be done simultaneously independent of others while there are others which cannot be started unless some others are completed. Similarly, there are activities which have to be undertaken on a national basis and others which are either localized in operation or more efficient when organized on a regional basis. The elaboration of the Plan is thus a detailed analysis of not only the time-sequence of the various activities entailed in implementation but also their regional distribution. But to most administrators, the regionalization of a plan means only a superficial division of provisions made in it to respective regional administrative units. While such a process may be tenable in macro-economic planning, a micro-plan like the Education Plan has to approach regionalization on the basis not only of the total plan objectives but also of programmes, projects and even activities.

V. Delegation of authority and responsibility

The division of the Plan into its component programmes, projects and activities and their time-sequence and regionalization form the foundation of the administrative function of delegating the implementation to branches, regional organizations and institutions. Each delegation of function has to be accompanied by a delegation of authority and responsibility, which, for effective functioning of an administrative organization, should be co-equal and co-terminus.

But how can such delegations of authority and responsibility be embodied in a clear and concise administrative directive? The budget has been the regular instrument in most cases. Even the traditional budget which, for instance, in the British system provides for allocations under heads, votes, sub-heads, items and apportionments helps to delegate authority and responsibility to different levels of administration by assigning to them the controlling or approving power of expenditure under a vote, sub-head, item or an apportionment. The assumption here is that the control of the budget gives the particular office or officer the authority he needs to execute the activities for which money is provided. Not only is this assumption correct but it also leads to the effective organization of implementation operations specially when the administration is given ample liberty to stretch the financial limits, so specified, to the utmost according to the capacity and ingenuity of decision-makers. Even if the Parliament approves a budget in outline, indicating only the broad divisions of expenditure, it is advantageous for plan implementation, if it is further analysed into programmes and projects and sub-divided according to different levels of administration right down to that of the school. Of course, the mere division of the budget is insufficient unless the structure of controlling and approving expenditure is not suitably delegated. It is not too rarely seen that a budget, representing a perfect division of allocations according to levels of administration, is stymied by administrative direction or procedure or convention. Allocating an apportionment for the purchase of consumable materials in science teaching to the head of a school does not mean the delegation of the authority to perform the activity, envisaged, if the administrative rules demand that the prior or even covering approval of a higher official has to be obtained for every purchase. If adequate care is taken not to overburden the system with too many of such control procedures, a detailed budget even on traditional lines serves a useful purpose in the delegation of authority and responsibility.

The traditional budget, however, has a major defect. Even when prepared according to programmes and projects, envisaged in the Plan, it shows basically the spatial distribution of activities and not their time-sequence. Administrators, operating such budgets, have often experienced a difficulty with regard to continuing works, delayed deliveries of goods ordered and phasing a project over several budget years. Other than in the case of certain capital expenditures, for which revotes are usually made, all other unspent balances in the budget generally lapse at the end of the financial year. Where under-expenditure during a particular year in respect of any activity is caused by delays in accomplishing another activity which had to precede it, the administrative and financial complications that arise during the next year can be quite frustrating. The solution to this is to evolve a budget which not only shows the spatial distribution of activities but also their time-sequence. We have already urged, in our suggestion that the preparation of the budget should be a function of the Planning Unit, that a need exists to make the budget as full and comprehensive a statement of not only immediately required action but also its foreseen developments and trends. We also mentioned the Planning-Programming-Budgeting-System (PPBS) as an example of an improvement in budget construction.(1) (Vide p. 151). But it may not be practical in most countries, where the extension of the traditional budget to cover a longer period than one year may be the better solution. Whatever the system of budgeting adopted, it can be made to serve the purposes of implementation by specifying the delegation of authority and the time-sequence of required action, if it:

(a) represents the programmes and projects as well as activities which are called for by the Plan;

(b) allocates provisions according to branches, offices and institutions which will eventually implement such programmes, projects and activities;

(c) covers the entire plan period so that the anticipated commencement, progress, completing and probable continuation of programmes, projects and activities are indicated by the pattern of financial provision.

But there is a danger that the administration should guard against. A detailed budget, as we envisage, can be a merciless tyrant if the administrators become slaves to it. It is, therefore, desirable that the detailed budget, we have suggested here, is recognized only as a working document, restricted to official circles and revised at regular intervals of at least three months on the basis of the progress made and the insights gained into problems as each activity is put into operation.

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(1) For a detailed discussion on PPBS in relation to educational planning, see OECD: Budgeting, Programme Analysis and Cost-Effectiveness in Educational Planning, Paris, 1968.

Another method which may be effectively used, preferably as complimentary to the budget, for the same purpose, is to construct appropriate waiting line, network and replacement models to show in level-time-space terms the responsibility, inter-relations and rate of progress of programmes, projects and activities. The network models, PERT and CPM, are specially useful, provided, of course, they are modified and simplified to be easily understood and utilized by the average administrator. In fact, this proviso applies to all mathematical or diagrammatic models, which due to the technician's anxiety to reach and maintain a very high degree of scientific sophistication, often, become inaccessible (if not, suspected) by pragmatic decision-makers. We envisage the feasibility and the usefulness of constructing a series of PERT or CPM networks(1) first for the programmes, then for projects under each programme and finally for activities under each project. To be a tool for plan implementation, these networks should contain, besides the time and sequence factors, a notation to indicate the administrative unit responsible for each activity. Such a modification will have another use in settling organizational problems like the strength of staff required for each unit as well as identifying shortages in particular types of skills, equipment and materials, which cause avoidable slacks in the network.

To suggest PERT or CPM networks is not to discount the administrative usefulness of simple organogramatic or tabulation methods, often resorted to by traditional administrators. When carefully and properly constructed, the organogramatic and tabular representations of the sequence of activities and levels of authority and responsibility can give a bird's eye view of the entire organization for plan implementation. But their major deficiency is that activities, which are simultaneously taken up, cannot be so represented. Here the PERT or CPM network has a positive advantage.

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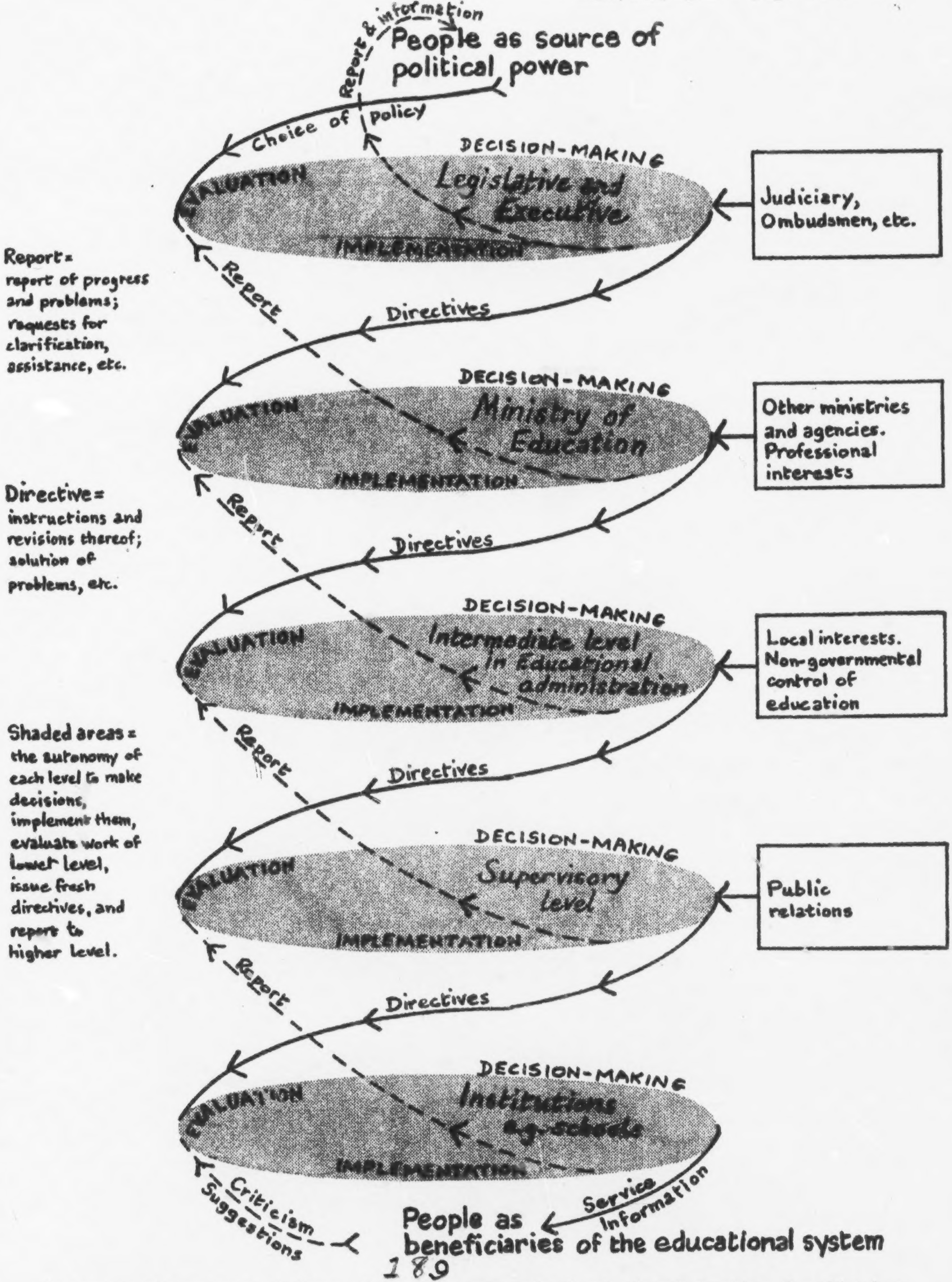
(1) Cf. Desmond L. Cook: Program Evaluation and Review Technique Applications in Education, U.S. Office of Education, Washington, D.C., 1966.


Report & information
People as source of political power
Choice of policy
DECISION-MAKING
Legislative and Executive
EVALUATION
IMPLEMENTATION
Judiciary, Ombudsmen, etc.
Report =
report of progress and problems; requests for clarification, assistance, etc.
Report
Directives
DECISION-MAKING
Ministry of Education
EVALUATION
IMPLEMENTATION
Other ministries and agencies. Professional interests
Directive =
instructions and revisions thereof; solution of problems, etc.
Report
Directives
DECISION-MAKING
Intermediate level in Educational administration
EVALUATION
IMPLEMENTATION
Local interests. Non-governmental control of education
Shaded areas =
the autonomy of each level to make decisions, implement them, evaluate work of lower level, issue fresh directives, and report to higher level.
Report
Directives
DECISION-MAKING
Supervisory level
EVALUATION
IMPLEMENTATION
Public relations
Report
Directives
DECISION-MAKING
Institutions e.g. schools
EVALUATION
IMPLEMENTATION
Criticism
Suggestions
Service
Information
People as beneficiaries of the educational system

Diagrammatic representation of the two-way spiral of administrative functioning

But a good tabulation of activities according to sequence and levels is a prerequisite for a PERT or CPM network. The tabulation method is particularly useful when it is employed to represent job-breakdowns, the progress maintained in the execution of each function being indicated by a suitable notation.

VI. The two-way spiral

Once the steps, discussed above, are taken and the tools of implementation are developed and put in use, the administration sets in motion a two-way spiral in which:

(i) instruction and directives, in the form of laws, regulations, orders, policy rulings, circulars, solutions to problems, etc., are passed from the higher level to the lower;

(ii) action is taken by each level on instructions and directions received;

(iii) reports, in the form of factual information, requests for clarification, assistance and solutions for problems, data on progress as well as recommendations, suggestions, views and even criticisms, are obtained from the lower level;

(iv) instructions and directives are evaluated in the light of such reports; and

(v) revised instructions and directives are issued to the lower level.

The process once set in motion goes on and on without interruption. (Vide diagrammatic representation of the process of page 180A). It must, however, be mentioned that the administrative process in operation is not so neatly organized and clear-cut, for a higher level may deal with a lower level without going through intermediary levels and the vertical interaction among levels can be made considerably complex. So also are horizontal ineractions among different units of the same level, as the need exists for them to pool their experiences, co-ordinate common activities, exchange resources and organize unified fronts or approaches when concerted action becomes necessary. The complexity of this process is further compounded when an interested individual or a group of individuals decide to bypass the proper administrative level or levels and use direct political pressure or influence to interfere with official action. But, for the most part, the two-way spiral operates smoothly and the implementation of the Plan depends on it very heavily.

Every level of administration which receives a directive from a higher level is autonomous within the limits specified by such directive. It is within this sphere of activity that an administrative level performs best. The less the higher level interferes with the free exercise of delegated authority by the lower level, the greater the efficiency of the entire administrative system. An administrator, who finds his actions unnecessarily questioned and his authority minimized, adopts the usual strategy of 'playing it safe' and 'passing the buck' - the bane of public administration everywhere. While the principle of respecting the autonomy of each level applies with equal validity to all offices and branches of a bureaucracy, it is particularly important as a means of galvanizing institutions such as universities, colleges and schools into action. With powerful informal organizations which, as in the case of students' and parents' organizations, are not bound by official regulations, these institutions work more efficiently when the control exercised is minimum. A very important fact to be borne in mind in this respect is the unavoidable wrath and misunderstandings which are generated by the 'officialese jargon' employed in administrative directives. Most of them sound peremptory and offensive simply because their drafters had not thought it fit to take the recipients into confidence by telling them even briefly why a particular course of action is ordered. An explanatory note has a salutary effect in such cases. Equally important is the response of the higher level to requests and suggestions of the lower. The speed with which the higher level solves the problems reported by the lower level is the key-note to administrative effectiveness in plan implementation and this requires the organization of competent problem-solving agencies at every level of the administrative machinery. Another matter of vital importance is the manner in which the interaction among levels take place. Bureaucracies are generally over fond of putting down everything on paper. There is no doubt that the printed or written word is still the most reliable form of communication among administrators and, in fact, the most convenient. It also looks after problems likely to be caused by misunderstanding or misinterpreting communications. What is written always goes into the record and is easily verified in the event of disputes. But the tendency which public administration shows to rely on written communications to a degree rarely seen in the private sector has resulted in what is aptly called 'the tyranny of paper'. For quicker decisions as well as for the better comprehension of communications and enthusiastic participation in all activities in an aspirit de corps, regular conferences and office meetings are a tremendous aid to the administration of plan implementation.

VII. Evaluation

An essential administrative function in plan implementation is the review and evaluation of progress. The evaluation of a plan can be undertaken from two points of view; namely:

(i) internal output, i.e. the rate of progress made in achieving the targets set in the Plan. For instance, the Plan may provide for the development of 25 science centres per year; the evaluation of the internal output will consist of a review of the progress made in various contributory activities such as building and equipping laboratories, recruiting and training teachers and selection and enrolment of pupils in relation to the numerical target of 25 centres. The review will also consider whether the steps taken and decisions made are the most efficacious in accomplishing the task on the basis of: (a) minimum costs; (b) maximum utilization of facilities; and (c) maximum benefit to the public. In such an evaluation it is not the objective or the target which is subjected to a scrutiny or value judgment but only the efficacy and the efficiency of administrative functions performed for the achievement of the objective or target.

(ii) external output, i.e. the relevance and the significance of the Education Plan to the economic, social and cultural development of the nation. This is not really an evaluation of the Plan and its operational components, but a review of its broad objectives. For instance, the objective of the Plan to promote the uncontrolled expansion of an highly academic secondary school system may only add to problems of educated unemployment and imbalances in manpower. The review of this objective from the point of view of national development is quite a different kind of evaluation and should preferably be undertaken by an agency other than the educational administration, whose duty it is to implement, to the best of its ability and to the full extent of resource allocations, the objectives and targets of the Plan. The Educational Planning Commission/Committee or the Central Planning Organization may set up an ad hoc machinery like a team of national and international experts for this purpose or utilize the services of international educational, labour and development agencies (i.e. Unesco, ILO, IBRD) for this purpose. The practice of appointing periodically commissions of inquiry, in some countries, has an advantage as these bodies comprising leaders of thought in the country who are, sometimes, assisted by foreign specialists, are in a position to combine a technical evaluation with a survey of public reactions and opinions.

The evaluation of both the internal output and the external output is an operation which should commence with the implementation of the Plan. But the assessment of the external output may not be possible for a considerable length of time. If the rectification of imbalances in the 'mix' of skills is a principal criterion for such an evaluation, the effects of the Plan on manpower development may not be clear for several years. But that should not preclude the possibility of examining on a cost-benefit and cost-effectiveness basis the approach adopted by the Plan for the rectification of manpower imbalances. For example, the Education Plan of a country may give high priority to the development of the skilled manpower required for fisheries. Apart from the need to examine whether this assignment of priority is justifiable or not, there exists a necessity to determine whether the proposed approach of setting up a university faculty of fisheries, five junior colleges for fisheries and a hundred fisheries schools is the most desirable on grounds of both cost and feasibility. It may be worthwhile to examine whether programmes of non-formal education could achieve the same results more quickly at a less cost. One may, however, argue that all these questions should have been thrashed out before the Plan was finally approved. But one is surprised to find that, despite all care taken in the preparation, a plan shows so many defects - though not always as glaring as this particular example - when it is analysed for purpose of implementation. The recognition of this fact is important, for provision must be made for a continuous revision of approaches and priorities as the implementation proceeds.

The evaluation of the internal output is, in reality, an efficiency audit and can be entrusted to an administrative unit similar to that for auditing accounts. The traditional method of watching the rate of expenditure out of a budget allocation and warning the operational level of possible under-expenditure remains a convenient tool for measurement of progress. As long as such an evaluation confines itself to quantifiable targets, there are no problems of methodology. But merely constructing an intention-and-achievement account is not adequate as the purpose of evaluation is not only to review progress but also to decide on changes in approach. This evaluation has to be extended to both approach and quality.

But what are the criteria to evaluate them? Cost remains an effective criterion when alternative approaches are assessed against quantifiable targets. For instance, a project to train 10 teacher-educators per year may be approached either by setting up a department of study in a university or by arranging to send trainees to universities abroad. The better of these two approaches may be decided purely on cost, if no other considerations like the quality of training or benefits of exposure to foreign experience or the possibility of covering all or part of the expenditure with foreign aid are not taken into consideration. But a proposal to provide a science class for the benefit of half a dozen pupils, who annually qualify to proceed to grade XII (science) in a rural school may be evaluated not only in relation to the costs involved in building and equipping a science laboratory and staffing the school but also in relation to the qualitative benefits which these pupils will derive if they are sent on scholarship or bursary to a boarding school with an efficient science programme. Another quantifiable criterion is the number of persons benefited by a particular programme, project or activity. A project like retraining teachers to handle a new curriculum may be implemented either through weekend and vacation refresher courses or through full-time courses in a university or teachers' college. Where the money provided for the project is static and the training personnel causes no difficulty, the number of teachers, who are retrained, can be the criterion for the evaluation of the approach.

But how can 'qualitative' achievements be evaluated? Much of it (it has to be admitted) depends on subjective judgment, where prejudices and conventional notions play a big role. For instance, a decision to maximize the use of laboratories and workshops of a technical school by adopting a double-shift arrangement may be criticized on the basis that students are less efficient as learners of mathematics and science theory in the afternoons. But such an assessment cannot be valid unless it is supported by research and controlled experimentation. Contrary to the general opinion, most of the 'qualitative' achievements are quantifiable in terms of conventional measurements used in education. The gulf, if any, in learning efficiency between morning and afternoon classes may be guaged by student performance. The effectiveness of a new curriculum or method of teaching may be assessed in terms of examination results. The quality of instruction in a school may be judged on the basis of dropouts, repeats and promotions. But this method has a major drawback. The conventional educational measurements are anything but perfect. Educationalists have strong opinions for and against examinations per se as well as examination techniques. An objective test may show results altogether different from those of an 'essay-type' examination. The social and home background of a student has an influence on the performance particularly at scholastic achievement tests and sometimes also at intelligence and aptitude tests where verbal and mathematical skills play a part. The formation of control groups with identical IQ levels, social and cultural backgrounds, motivations and aptitudes is well nigh impossible. The attempt to compare the efficiency or efficacy of an instructional method, aid or system on the same group may not always be successful as its results can be confused by the order in which each method, aid or system is introduced. To state the difficulties is not to ignore the use to which scholastic achievement tests can be put in evaluating alternative approaches in methods, content and structure. As a part of plan implementation, such evaluation is only a tentative aid to decision-making and, therefore, any academic measurement may be adequate as long as it is judiciously used with a full awareness of its deficiencies and a consistency of technique is maintained throughout.

VIII. Revision

The review of progress and the evaluation of the effectiveness of methods and approaches serve two functions in plan implementation, namely:

(a) revision and adjustment of targets and strategies; and

(b) provision of measures to meet unforeseen contingencies.

All plans, despite the apparent rigidity, leave much room for revision and adjustment as action to implement proceeds and experience reveals new problems and better solutions. Such revisions and adjustments may range from minor modifications in an activity under a project to a major alteration in a programme or even to a more serious and far-reaching change like dropping a whole programme or replacing one with another. It is very important to anticipate the need for such changes and provide for the proper machinery to facilitate them. Every administrator in education cannot be authorized to make changes in the Plan or its components as he thinks fit, for such tinkering can nullify the achievement of planned development. In the same way, over-centralization of this authority leads to delays which make the revisions ineffective. Therefore, the authority and the responsibility for revision and adjustment of particular components of the Plan and to meet contingencies have to be delegated to appropriate levels in the administration at the time the power to implement the Plan is delegated.

Equally important is to extract out of the experiences gained by the implementation of one plan guidelines which will be useful in the preparation of the next Plan, as the implementation of the current Plan and the preparation and formulation of the next have to be a simultaneous and closely intertwined process. This calls for an effective feedback system from the operational level to the Planning Organization.

The analysis of administrative implications of planning and plan implementation, which we have attempted in this Chapter, shows how planning and plan implementation permeate the entire administrative process to the degree that one function is not distinguishable from another either in importance and priority or in utilitarian value. A good administrator has always been a good planner and it is absolutely important that the converse of this statement, too, should be true. Planning technicians, who disregard administrative implications and fail to equip themselves with basic administrative skills or, at least with a knowledge of the fundamental principles of administrative processes, are as ineffective as administrators who confine themselves to mere 'maintenance' functions. The solution appears to lie in bridging the gulf between administrators and planning technicians by making each a bit of the other. Such a conscious effort is particularly important to educational planning, firstly, as the administrative levels and units in education are so numerous that it is not possible to duplicate the staff with specialists in either functions, secondly, as innovations, essential to effective planning in education, call for a multi-pronged attack from psychological, pedagogical, sociological, economic and administrative angles and finally, because education both as a labour-intensive industry, employing more personnel than any other single activity, and as an enterprise, serving the largest and also the most important single unit of population (i.e. children and youth), demands priority of attention to human relations, popular participation and public co-operation.

CHAPTER IV

Reforms in Educational Administration

A. Towards a managerial revolution

The IS-OUGHT analysis of educational administration in the foregoing chapters brings us to the vital question of HOW the IS situation can be changed into the OUGHT. The International Conference on the World Crisis in Education, Williamsburg, Virginia, U.S.A., October, 1967, came to the conclusion that the "pre-condition for attaining any kind of innovation in an educational system is improved management at every level".(1) In fact, Coombs, in his stimulating working paper for this conference, prepared with the assistance of the staff of IIEP, had drawn its attention to this problem quite emphatically.

> "Unless educational systems are well equipped", he said, "with appropriately trained managers - who in turn are well equipped with good information flows, modern tools of analysis, research and evaluation, and are supported by well-trained teams of specialists - the transition of education from its semihandicraft state to a modern condition is not likely to happen. Instead the educational crisis will grow steadily worse. In seeking to modernize its management system, education can find many useful clues in the practices - including the concepts and methodologies of systems analysis and of integrated long-range planning - of other sectors of society which have already made great strides in this direction".(2)

In these, as well as other similar recommendations, there is an implied emphasis on the term 'management' as though it represented something different from, if not superior to, what has been conveyed by 'administration'. At the outset, one even wonders whether the increasing use of this term is another gimmick or terminological mystification, which seems to be a characteristic feature of the new vocabulary evolved particularly by students of social sciences.

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(1) Philip H. Coombs: The World Educational Crisis, p. 176.

(2) Ibid., p. 168.

I. The concept of 'management' and the role of the educational executive

The terms, management and administration, are being used quite indiscriminately even in technical literature.(1) As Johannsen and Robertson say, the term administration is "frequently used in public service settings as a term synonymous with management".(2) Any attempt to look for a semantic differentiation among them may even appear to some as nothing more than quibbling. Yet with the development of social sciences providing deeper and sharper insights into the process of organizing, directing and controlling group activities, the need to define these terms, with the specific purpose of bringing out the differences in their underlying concepts, seems to have presented itself. Despite the risk of running into an intellectual digression on a conceptual analysis at this stage, it appears, therefore, necessary to examine them in greater detail.

Let us begin with definitions most widely accepted:

Management

(i) the art or science of directing, conducting and administering the work of others to achieve defined objectives;

(ii) the process of decision-making and leadership;

(iii) to the economist, a factor of production concerned with the organization and co-ordination of the other factors, land, labour and capital, to achieve maximum efficiency;

(iv) the social process of entailing responsibility for the effective and economical planning, and regulation of the operations of an enterprise in the fulfilment of a given purpose or task.

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(1) The widespread notion that the use of these terms are determined by a geographical factor is not borne out by current literature, for writers on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean have been using them indiscriminately until students of administrative science on both sides began to look for distinct functional definitions for them.

(2) H. Johannsen and A.B. Robertson: Management Glossary (Ed. E.F.L. Brech) Management Studies Series, London, Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd., 1968, p. 3.

It involves judgment and decision in determining plans and using data to control performance and progress against plans, and the guidance, integration, motivation and supervision of personnel in carrying out its operations.

Administration

(i) the area of management concerned with interpreting policy and translating it into executive action;

(ii) sometimes used in the more narrow sense of installing and implementing procedures; may be equated with 'office administration or management';

(iii) the phase of the management process concerned with the installation and carrying out of procedures by which the programme is laid down and communicated, and the progress of activities is regulated and checked against plans.(1)

It is evident from these definitions that *management* is conceived to be a broader activity than *administration* on the basis that *management* is focused on a process of decision-making, judgment and leadership involving planning, guiding, integrating, motivating and supervising while the other deals with implementation of decisions and providing supporting services. As regards functions, it is clear that management is viewed as a *line* function while administration is regarded as a *staff* function.(2) Thus, administration, in such a concept, becomes a narrower function of maintaining and supporting rather than changing and developing the established structures, procedures or goals.(1) A parallel may be found in the French administrative organization where 'direction' seems to have the same functional significance as management in relation to administration.(2)

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(1) Johannsen and Robertson: *loc.cit.*, pp. 80 and 3. Cf also. Philip A.S. Taylor: A New Dictionary of Economics, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966, p. 177 and p. 83.

(2) Cf. *Line Management*, defined as those which have direct responsibility for achieving objectives of the company or organization and *staff* as 'specialists within an organization providing advisory or *assisting* services to line managers and supervisors but not directly responsible for accomplishing primary goals of the enterprise'. Johannsen and Robertson: *loc.cit.*, S.V.

Whether one is prepared to accept such a clear distinction between management and administration or not, one has to recognize the existence of two levels or types of functions within the process which we, in the earlier chapters, generally called 'administration'. The question, then, is why one should not have a settled terminology to distinguish them. As the management scientists and economists have already begun to draw sharper distinctions between the terms management and administration, there should be no special difficulty in ignoring their loose usage in popular parlance or in standardizing their semantic nuances, so far neglected in the technical literature.(1) It seems reasonable, therefore, to use (i) management to mean the function of making critical decisions which change and modify the established structures, methods, procedures or goals and (ii) administration to mean maintaining and supporting functions.

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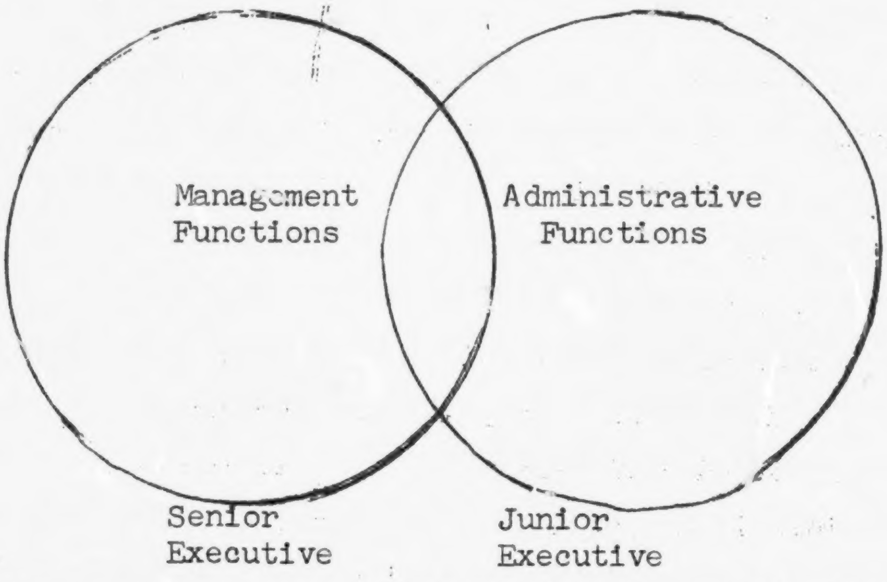
(1) Cf. Hungate's definition of functions: "The Director of an educational research and development project is basically a manager. He alone is responsible for all decisions about the use of people and resources. One or more offices on a campus (including computer centres, publication offices and travel bureaus) can assist with administrative matters, but they cannot direct decision-making." T.L. Hungate: Management in Higher Education, Bureau of Publications, Teachers' College Columbia University, New York, 1964. Cf. also Desmond L. Cook: Program Evaluation and Review Technique - Applications in Education, U.S. Office of Education, Washington D.C., 1966, p. 3.

(2) The tendency to translate the French word gestion as 'management' has led to a confusion among French-speaking persons who regard management to be a function associated with works and materials.

But these functions do not exist in watertight compartments. It is not possible to visualize an organization where an officer responsible for management and another responsible for administration work independent of each other. Each will find that a portion of his functions is from the other type and as a recognition of this essential dichotomy of his duties we shall refer to each of them, for sake of convenience, as an executive rather than a manager or administrator. Senior executives of an organization will be responsible for a higher proportion of management functions while junior executives will have more of administrative functions and less of the other. It can be represented diagrammatically as follows:



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(1) Cf. William H. Newman: Administrative Action - The Techniques of Organization and Management, Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-hall Inc., (13th printing) 1961, p. 6. While admitting that "there is, of course, a top-management level in every enterprise that is concerned with over-all administration rather than with a single field" he adds a footnote: "Some writers separate the work of top administration from that of subordinates. Unfortunately there is no agreement on whether the top level should be called management or administration or on what is covered by the term selected. In the present study, a distinction between administration and management serves no practical purpose."

The area of functions shared by them provides the basis of liaison between them.

A crucial problem which every educational system throughout the world faces is that its full-time executives, engaged in the function of organizing and conducting it, tend to concentrate more on administrative functions than on management functions. The revolution which is absolutely and urgently necessary to rescue education from worsening conditions is to increase in number as well as in effectiveness and influence the executives who will give their management functions first-order priority. This would mean relieving the senior executives of the Ministry of Education and all its subdivisions right down to the school level of their administrative obligations. The solution that is most likely to be suggested is an organization and methods review leading to a division of duties and responsibilities. But it is not so easy, for the primary difficulties that will be encountered in such a process are (i) a psychological resistence by the senior executives themselves and (ii) constraints of practical priorities. A Director of Education - more often than not - is happier with functions of personnel administration (i.e. appointments, transfers and disciplinary control) and financial responsibility (e.g. assigning and terminating contracts, arbitrations in contractual disputes, authorization of expenditure) because these represent power. The technical aspects of improving the content, methods and the structure of education rarely give him the same sense of personal satisfaction. This is an easily understandable human factor and its existence has to be accepted as an inevitable constraint in the development of a profession of educational management. But this is not the whole story. If the Director were to be criticized for his preoccupation with functions that satisfy his desire for power, he would point out that those functions are always urgent due to the pressure exerted by interested individuals and also that his efficiency is judged on the speed with which he attends to them and on the degree to which he prevents representations made to higher echelons by grieved parties. Thus the system encourages him to be one-sided in his approach.

These are not the kind of factors on which an executive's work is evaluated in industry or business. There, the only barometer of efficiency is the rise and fall of profit. Not only does profit indicate satisfactory management but also brings rewards to the executive in the form of bonuses, quick salary increases and special fringe benefits, the like of which is never heard of in the public sector in general and, the least of all, in education. On the other hand, an educational executive, who, motivated by a strong sense of idealism, persistently agitates and paves the way for reforms, finds himself at loggerheads with conservative elements and vested interests and is soon discouraged, if not altogether dropped, by powers that be.(1) The root of the problem, to our mind, lies in the structure of the public service as a whole. Not much improvement can be expected unless and until more effective criteria for evaluation of executive efficiency are evolved and attractive incentives can be provided for idealism, originality, innovations and dedicated service.

II. Structural reforms in educational management

How much can a government do to make the educational executives more alive to their management role? It may not be possible to change conditions of service or provide incentives for education alone. Nor does it appear feasible to adopt a special set of criteria to evaluate the efficiency of educational executives. The most likely solution to be suggested is that the organization in authority over education be so decentralized as to:

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(1) The lot of educational reformers has never been an easy one. "Milton retired to write that great epic of defeat, Paradise Lost and poor Hartlib spent his days composing begging letters in order to rescue his family from destitution." W.O. Lester Smith: loc.cit., p. 71.

(a) vest the power of both maintaining and reforming the educational system to a body close to the people who are beneficiaries of the system;

(b) make the educational executives responsive to the immediate needs of the system and concentrate on changes and innovations which make the system effective and beneficial to the people;

(c) ensure the executives a greater measure of autonomy by not being lost in a massive bureaucratic organization; and

(d) provide for encouragement and rewards directly from the people whose needs are being served.

Democratic decentralization is recommended as an important structural reform in educational management on the basis of a number of significant assumptions; namely:

- "leadership is not confined to those holding status positions in the power echelon;
- good human relations are essential to group production and to meet the needs of individual members of the group;
- responsibility as well as power and authority can be shared;
- everyone affected by a programme or policy should share in decision-making with respect to that programme or policy;
- the individual finds security in a dynamic climate in which he shares responsibility for decision-making;
- unity of purpose is secured through consensus and group loyalty;
- maximum production is achieved in a threat-free climate;
- the line-and-staff organization should be used exclusively for the purpose of dividing labour and implementing policies and programmes developed by the total group affected;
- the situation and not the position determines the right and privilege to exercise authority;
- the individual in the organization is not expendable;
- evaluation is a group responsibility."(1)

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(1) Morphet, Johns and Reller: Educational Administration, Englewood Cliffs, N.J. Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1959, pp. 61-67 (as summarized in Reller and Morphet: loc.cit., pp. 17-18).

These assumptions do contain all the ingredients that make quite a difference in the attitude of the executives. But there are also many problems.

Not all countries in the world have reached that level of political maturity and experience to undertake the management of their educational systems on a democratic basis. Many experience a dire shortage of leaders even to manage the affairs of the central government. Even where local political awareness is strong and a fair number of suitable persons is available for educational management, such a decentralization makes planning on a national scale difficult and cumbersome, though not altogether impossible. It also leads to wide variations in educational standards from area to area and may hinder the economic development of the country by restricting the mobility of the population. The latter is particularly true in respect of many developing countries still torn by racial and linguistic differences. In such cases the decentralization of the educational system may add further difficulties in the evolution of national unity.

We are thus on the horns of a dilemma. But this is not a proposition which can be dismissed with the usual statement that each country should be in a position to decide the degree to which its educational system can be decentralized. If the flagrant defects in the educational administration, as it exists, are to be eliminated and if the evolution of a system of educational management is to be promoted, certain positive steps have to be taken in all countries for the specific purposes of:

(a) making the educational management a group responsibility of the people who are direct beneficiaries of education; and

(b) providing for the fulfilment the State responsibility to plan education on a national basis, to maintain uniformly satisfactory educational standards throughout the country, to provide or supplement the wherewithal for educational development and to promote and co-ordinate activities designed to increase both the internal and the external output of education.

No country in the world has yet attained a combination of both these. In those that have a satisfactory local political structure to control education, the need to pursue action to achieve (b) is quite strongly felt, while in others it is the involvement of the people that has proved to be vitally necessary.

Political conventions as well as administrative traditions determine the type of action which may be utilized to bring about a balanced fulfilment of both functions. A country where every management and administrative function is concentrated in the hands of a few bureaucrats at the Ministry or the Department so that even minor decisions are made at the Capital, the first step may be a decentralization of the bureaucracy itself so that the decision-makers are distributed closer to institutions affected by their decisions. Such a decentralization can be made further effective if such regional decision-makers are assisted by at least advisory bodies representing local interests - both social and professional. The success of this step depends entirely on the degree to which the Ministry or the Department (a) delegates its authority and responsibility to the regional offices and, (b) not only in theory but also in practice, accepts and respects the autonomy of the regional decision-maker within limits prescribed in advance. Such a process of decentralization should then be extended progressively to bring the operation-supervisory level into a position of taking a greater measure of management responsibility than it now has.

It is becoming increasingly clear that the operation-supervisory level is the most crucial point and its reform will bring the most far-reaching results in the managerial revolution, so urgently needed in education. We have, in our earlier observations on this level of educational administration, pointed out its professional importance specially from the academic and pedagogical angles. From an administrative or management point of view, it is even more important. The inspector/supervisor/adviser is close enough to the people and controls so convenient a unit of activity that he can, besides maintaining personal contacts for exchange of views and mutual co-operation, take an overall view of all aspects and problems of education of a sizeable geographical area. He is adequately removed from individual institutions to be impartial in attitude and broad and liberal in outlook. Further, in his functions he combines in more or less equal parts duties, which are specifically managerial and administrative, as an innovator and agent of change in pedagogical matters and the last outpost of the educational executive in routine maintenance functions. His position of prestige vis-à-vis teachers and parents and his official status - contributing as they do to enhance his social standing - have enabled him, in most countries, to exercise a range of influence much wider than is granted by rules and regulations. To use all these advantages to the improvement of educational management he must be built up to be the real manager of education in his area. The lay participation in decision-making can begin through an advisory body to assist the inspector/supervisor/adviser. Such a body can serve the important purpose of training local leadership to take over educational management in due course.

The structural reform, envisaged in the above process of decentralization, will have ultimately to reach individual institutions, where the principal or the headmaster will be given a full measure of control over his school specially in relation to its budget and the disciplinary control of teachers and pupils. There is much to be commended in the system of appointing boards of governors or management or school welfare boards to direct its administrative functions. Apart from ensuring a closer association between the community and the school, such organizations relieve the head of the school - who is primarily a professional educationalist - of tedious and time-consuming routine functions of administering staff and business functions of the school, e.g. plant and facilities, canteens and feeding programmes, supplementary resources and school-community relations.

Just as such a process of decentralization and gradual involvement of lay participation is called for in most countries, there exists the need in others to ensure greater state association with education. The laisser-faire policies have to be replaced by those with a pronounced accent on the right and duty of a government to give leadership to all activities of the nation. Central educational organizations, functioning only as clearing houses for information and data, have to become active centres of co-ordinated thinking and action. The unguided, unchecked and unchannelled development in education has to be subjected to constant evaluation, renewal and reform by means of perspective and medium- and short-term plans. The target of the managerial revolution of education as we see it are thus two-fold:

(a) remedying, as the circumstances in each country demand, the present structural weakness by either involving lay participation in decision-making and decentralizing authority nearer to the grass-roots or supplying a directing and co-ordinating machinery to promote over-all planned development on a national scale; and

(b) evolving a profession of educational managers, who, at each level, will handle the problems of educational management and administration with due attention to the leadership role expected of them.

Of these the former may appear to be easier and more feasible than the latter. But for the kind of change demanded by the ever-increasing problems in the world of education, both have to receive equal attention and should be undertaken simultaneously with a deep sense of purpose.

But how can it be done? Nowhere will it be possible to replace the present administrators with the kind of managers we have in mind; nor is it practicable, first, on human grounds and, then, on legal and political grounds; in reality, even the dismissal, retirement and suspension of the most inefficient among them will prove to be an extremely difficult task. Even if it were possible, where are the managers to replace them? It is idle to think that trained management experts from industry and business will ever consider education as their cup of tea; or even if they do, will they be really the most suitable kind of leaders the educational enterprise needs today? Contrary to what mose theoreticians think about it, the managerial reform of education has to be a slow and wearisome process whose first step is the changing of the attitudes of the people who are already in office and are under contract or legal safeguards to remain so for many years. The talent hunt for new recruits, training and retraining programmes to keep them without 'getting into the rut', placing them in key positions from which they can influence the working of the entire system and removing political, administrative, material and psychological barriers which impede their work are all important aspects of this process.

These are not achieved by the mere reorganization of the machinery in control over education. The tasks involved go beyond the change of designations, redifinition of lines of authority, re-division of labour or changes in office manuals and procedures - all of which, we have to accept - are essential steps in the suggested reform. The most important and, undoubtedly, the most difficult is to make educational executives management-conscious and to organize them into a profession of educational management.

III. Professionalization of educational management

If we turn to management scientists for a clear account of the functions that would make the executives management-conscious, we are bound to find ourselves in technical controversies - so popular among theoreticians to the utter exasperation of men of action. But a brief glance at the evolution of the management science (called also the science of administration) would help to identify certain characteristics of the profession of management.

To early investigators of the process of organizing, directing and controlling various operations particularly in industry, the target was increased production. They replaced the antiquated systems of enforcing production through coercion, legal restrictions, severe penalties, religion-based caste and class obligations, etc. (all that is represented by slavery, forced labour, caste system and feudalism) with incentives of higher wages specially through 'piece work' systems. Their approach was based on the assumption that workers were usually lazy and lethargic and increased wages could not always be an incentive to greater output. It is on that basis research was conducted into methods of work so that through a process of analysis and experimentation the most efficient way of performing a given task could not only be discovered but also reduced to laws, rules and even mathematical formulae.

Frederick Taylor of the U.S.A., who was a pioneer in this approach, thus laid the foundation for a new science which he called 'the task system' or 'task management' and was later renamed by Louis Brandeis as 'scientific management'. The new discipline viewed management in the following light:

> "It is only through enforced standardization of methods, enforced adaptation of the best implements and working conditions and enforced co-operation that this faster work can be assured, and the duty of enforcing the adoption of standards and of enforcing this co-operation rests with the management alone".(1)

Taylor's theories led to a cult of efficiency supported by a number of subsidiary disciplines such as cost accounting, industrial psychology and personnel and production management. This cult of efficiency did, at one time in the U.S.A. invade her school systems when members of school boards approached their task in no manner different from that adopted by an efficiency expert or cost accountant in an industry. Raymond E. Callahan, who studied this phenomena, has shown how economy-plus-efficiency rather than true educational values became the key-note of educational management and key positions in schools were held by "administrators who were trained as book-keepers in their graduate work."(2)

Henri Fayol of France viewed management from a different angle. Instead of concentrating on work methods and task planning, he looked for a functional definition of administration, and identified five activities, often called 'Fayol's Elements', as constituting it: they are planning, organization, commanding, co-ordinating and controlling (POCCC). He also evolved a number of principles of management which included:

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(1) Frederick Taylor: Scientific Management, New York, Harper and Bros. 1947, p. 53.

(2) Raymond E. Callahan: Education and the Cult of Efficiency, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1962, p. 273.

(a) organizational factors like centralization, authority, order, scalar chain (= line of authority), and unity of command and direction;

(b) human factors like discipline, initiative, subordination of individual interests to the general interests, and esprit de corps; and

(c) legal factors like equity, remuneration and stability of tenure.

Fayol's fundamental contribution is the integration of these functions and principles with a full recognition of their flexibility.

> "There is nothing rigid or absolute in management affairs", he stressed, "It is all a question of proportion".(1)

Fayol's elements formed the basis for Lyndall Urwick's formulation of the functions of an executive: he elaborated POCCC to POSDCORB, by which acronym were defined seven types of management and administrative activities, namely, planning, organization, staffing, directing, co-ordinating, reporting and budgeting.(2) This approach was pursued by later students of management and each tried to define the categories which constituted administration. Thus, for instance, William H. Newman, who defines administration as "guidance, leadership and control of the effort of a group of individuals towards some common goal", identified in it five processes as planning, organizing, assembling resources, supervising and controlling (POARSC).(3) Justin G. Longenecker classified them as planning, organization, motivation and controlling (POMC).(4). The most popular among management scientists today is a simpler formula consisting of four categories, i.e. planning, organization, direction and control(PODC).

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(1) Henri Fayol: General and Industrial Management (translated by Constance Storrs), London, Pitman and Sons, 1949, p. 19.

(2) Lyndall Urwick: The Elements of Administration, New York, Harper and Bros., 1943.

(3) William H. Newman: Administrative Action, London, Pitman and Sons, 1963.

(4) Justin G. Longenecker: Principles of Management and Organizational Behaviour, Colombus, Ohio, Charles E. Merrill Books Inc., 1964.

All these formulae serve a useful purpose. Not only do they show the complexity of the management process from the functional point of view but also emphasize the need for a flexible approach to its analysis. A comparison of the various categories and the definitions given to them by each writer is, therefore, the most concise way of presenting what management scientists consider to be constituents of management. (See pp.205 ff).

The functional analysis, attempted by these different students by management and administration, highlights five categories of activities, namely:

(i) planning;
(ii) organization - which includes staffing and assembling resources;
(iii) direction - which includes commanding, supervision and motivation;
(iv) co-ordination; and
(v) control - which includes reporting and budgeting.

The processes, involved in them, may be summarized in the words of C. West Churchman, who found the following to be the functions of management on which management scientists have reached a consensus of opinion:

"(a) discovering, developing, defining and evaluating the goals of the organization and the alternative policies that will lead towards the goals;
(b) getting the organization to adopt the policies;
(c) scrutinizing the effectiveness of the policies that are adopted;
(d) initiating steps to change policies when they are judged to be less effective than they ought to be."(1)

These are fundamentally planning functions and it is their inclusion as an integral part of the responsibilities of an executive that makes him a manager rather than an administrator.

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(1) C. West Churchman: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1965, Vol. 14, p. 747.

Category	Fayol	Urwick	Newman	Longnecker	Scientific Management
1. Planning	Studying the future and arranging the plan of operations.	Working out in broad outline the things that need to be done and the methods of doing them to accomplish the purpose set for the enterprise.	Determining what shall be done - clarification of goals, establishment of policies, mapping out programmes and campaigns, determining specific methods or procedures, fixing day-to-day schedules.	Identification of major and subordinate objectives to accomplish the overall objectives of the process of programme definition through subdivision and classification.	Determining what to do and when and how to do it - defining objectives and planning operations to achieve maximum effectiveness through a process of setting goals, gathering and analysing information, developing alternatives, preparing and communicating plans and decisions.
2. Organization	Building up the material and human organization of the business, organizing both men and materials.	Establishment of formal structure of authority through which work subdivisions are arranged, defined and coordinated for the defined objective.	Grouping into administrative units the activities necessary to draw up and carry out the plan and defining the relationships among executives and workers in such units.	Determining specific work or tasks and establishing the sequence and dependency existing among the tasks, along with performance standards or quality control levels.	Obtaining necessary facilities, equipment and staff to establish efficient framework for carrying out plans through a process determining work required to accomplish plans,

(Cont'd.)

Category	Fayol	Urwick	Newman	Longnecker	Scientific Management
2. Organization (Cont'd.)					grouping components and jobs into orderly organizational structure, establishing the structure of authority and coordinating machinery, formulating and defining methods and procedures, selecting, training, informing and motivating staff and obtaining other necessary resources.
2a Staffing		The whole personnel function of bringing in and training the staff and maintaining favourable conditions of work.			
2b Assembling resources			Arranging the use of executive personnel capital facilities etc. to execute the plan.		

(Cont'd.)

Category	Fayol	Urwick	Newman	Longnecker	Scientific Management
3. Commanding	Make the staff do their work				
3a Direction		The continuous task of making decisions and embodying them in specific and general orders and instructions and serving as the leader of the enterprise.			Setting detailed time and cost framework, initiating and providing leadership in carrying out plans by making decisions, issuing specific instructions, guiding and supervising.
3b Supervision			Day-to-day guidance of operations - issuing instructions coordinating detailed work, cultivating good personal relations.		

(Cont'd.)

Category	Fayol	Urwick	Newman	Longnecker	Scientific Management
3c Motivation				Communicating project goals, directing assignment of tasks between departments and persons providing competent leadership, assessing staff morale and similar actions.	
4. Co-ordination	Uniting and correlating all activities.	The all important duty of interrelating the various parts of the work.			
5. Control	Seeing that everything is done in accordance with rules and instructions.		Seeing that the operating results conform as nearly as possible to plans - establishment of standards, and undertaking the **necessary corrective** action where performance deviates from the plan.	Process of action by management in response to deviations from schedule.	Evaluation of performance compared to plan, reporting deviations in time for corrective action and showing the way to corrective action by establishing standards and goals, appraising performance and correcting deviations.

(Cont'd.)

Category	Fayol	Urwick	Newman	Longnecker	Scientific Management
5a Reporting		Keeping those to whom the executive is responsible informed as to what is going on, keeping himself and his subordinates informed through records, research and inspection.			
5b Budgeting		All that goes with budgeting in the form of fiscal planning accounting and control.			

To convert educational executives into educational managers, a serious effort has to be made to develop, first and foremost, a profession of educational management. According to Mary Parker Follett;

> "the word profession cannotes for most people a foundation of science and a motive of service".(1)

While the existence of a motive of service among educational executives is accepted, it has become very clear that a foundation of science has still to be built. Most countries neither demand any special training or preparation from educational executives prior to their recruitment nor provide them with any during their tenure of office. The assumption is that management or administration is 'entirely a commonsense fly-by-the-seat-of-the-pants art which can only be passed from practitioner to practitioner'.(2)

The traditional view that anyone with intelligence and a capacity for hard work can become a successful administrator or at least 'muddle through' any problem or situation has been more forceful in the field of education because the educational executives have usually been ex-teachers whose professional training as teachers has been regarded implicitly, if not explicitly, as adequate to fit them into functions of organizing and directing education. This confusion of roles is evident even today in most countries where educational executives, specially of the operation-supervisory level, are given a training too closely linked with instructional and academic functions; and, where in-service training is provided, the emphasis if on the efficient performance of routine administrative tasks.

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(1) Mary Parker Follett: 'How must business management develop in order to possess the essentials of a profession' in Dynamic Administration - The Collected Papers of Mary Parker Follett (Edited by Henry C. Metcalf and L. Urwick), New York, Harper and Bros., 1940.

(2) The Sixty-Third Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, loc.cit., p. 3.

Even in the U.S.A., where considerable progress has already been made in developing a foundation of science for educational management, the concentration of efforts is on school administration: this is natural for a country where the school is fast becoming an autonomous entity and the head of the school becomes the key figure in the educational scene. Thus, the development of a foundation of science for the entire sphere of educational management remains a task to be yet undertaken. But, fortunately, there is much that can be borrowed and adapted from scientific management and much of the annoying and difficult experiences of the pioneering students of management need not be repeated.

Professionalization of educational management is a task for educational executives. As Follett argued;

> "All professions have been developed by the work of their own members."(1)

This means that the executives have to begin by analysing their functions as well as their attitudes as a prelude to extracting the rationale behind executive action.(2) This is what Follett meant when she said;

> "The way in which you give every order, the way in which you make every decision, the way in which you meet every committee, in almost every act you perform during the day, you may be contributing to the science of management."(3)

Such a study will not only be confined to the re-examination of propositions and hypothesis based on existing concepts and theories but also descriptive and analytical accounts of processes and situations out of which management principles can be deduced. This, however, is only one aspect of a collective approach to the professionalization of educational management. There are several others; Belisle and Sargent have listed the following:

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(1) Ibid., p. 139.

(2) G. Woodrow Wilson: 'The Study of Administration', Political Science Quarterly II No. 2, June 1887. "The object of administrative study is to rescue executive methods from the confusion and costliness of empirical experiment and set them upon foundations laid deep in stable principle."

(3) Follett: loc.cit., p. 139.

(a) a shift in attitudes and values pertaining to a social function so that the function becomes the target of efforts towards improvement of standards on the part of the leaders identified with the function;

(b) the formation of organizations for this purpose on the part of those identified with the function;

(c) the development of programmes of research activity;

(d) the development of institutions for training personnel;

(e) the formation of standards and codes of practice, including ethical and service criteria;

(f) movements towards legal recognition of these standards (licencing, tests, special prerogatives, etc.); and

(g) the emergence of special terminologies associated with the developing of special bodies of knowledge, competence or values.(1)

Whether any or all these steps will be taken by the educational executives of a country or their own initiative is quite doubtful. The initiative for (c), (d) and (g) and the encouragement for (e) and (f) may have to come from the government. As the American experience reveals, much can also be done both by individual universities, which conduct training programmes and arrange for the professional growth of educational managers, and by corporate bodies of scholars, like the University Council for Educational Administration (Columbus, Ohio), which organize and sponsor research and development, besides providing forums for the exchange and evolution of ideas and concepts, leading to a sense of professional solidarity. But their final adoption by the members of the profession themselves, is a matter of fundamental importance. A threat to professionalization may come from the rigid stratification of the educational service which is quite a common feature in many countries. If the distance in status, academic ranking and social prestige between the policy-making executives and institutional heads is so great that tradition permits only an 'up-down' type of communication, such a group will never develop into a unified profession. It is too much to expect the emergence of a common service motive among them. Under such circumstances, it is more realistic to envisage a profession of educational management with two or more parallel branches.

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(1) Eugene L. Belisle and Cyril G. Sargent: 'The Concept of Administration' in Administrative Behaviour in Education (edited by Roald F. Campbell and Russell T. Gregg), New York, Harper and Bros., 1957, p. 96.

B. Recruitment, training and professional growth of educational executives

Educational management consists of two broad categories:

(a) managers and administrators of State and state-sponsored systems of first and second level education, both general and technical. (For convenience of nomenclature, we shall call this category 'system management'.);

(b) managers and administrators of autonomous educational institutions such as universities and colleges, colleges of technology, institutes of teacher education and advanced institutes of technical education. (We shall call this category 'institutional management'.).

The system management is at least of three well-defined levels, namely:

(i) policy-making and executive level - i.e. officers of the Ministry of Education or its equivalent and of the Department of Education or its equivalent, working close to political power structure and performing policy-making and executive functions on a national level;

(ii) operation-supervisory level - i.e. officers in the field close to institutions and functioning as an intermediary link between the policy-making and executive level and the operational level;

(iii) operational level - i.e. officers in schools and other educational institutions where the principal educational function of providing learning-teaching situations to pupils takes place.

Each level consists of a cluster of managers and administrators, who, according to their functional specialization, can be classified into four groups, viz:

(a) generalists (G)
(b) specialists in educational services (ES)
(c) specialists in supporting services (SS)
(d) planning technicians (P)

The generalists are both de jure and de facto leaders of each level. Subject to ministerial, political or corporate control as the political structure of the country has provided, they are entrusted with both the authority and the responsibility of maintaining in a state of dynamic equilibrium the system as a whole or a particular level of the system as a whole. The generalist at each level directs, co-ordinates and controls the functions of the other three groups, who, in that situation, are human resources placed at his disposal to achieve the objectives laid down for the system or a particular level thereof. In this role, he is both an arbitrator over the other groups and an agent who brings them together and ensures the system the best results out of their interaction. His is not a static role as conveyed by the simile that he represents the cement mortar that holds together firmly the bricks of the edifice; he is rather like the locomotive which takes the whole train to its destination. To assign the generalist a higher position in the hierarchy as a necessary adjunct to his directing,, co-ordinating and controlling functions is not to minimize the importance of the other groups or to suggest that any one of the groups could function without the others. It is important to recognize that the four groups, both in theory and in practice, constitute a team of management in which the generalist is or should be only a primus inter pares.

The position of the planning technician, however, needs definition because we regard him to be a specialist whose role is to add the dimension of foresight and forethought to functions of the other three groups. His work consists of elements from the functions of all other executives. Besides being in the midst of their activities, he influences them by being a detached technocrat.(1)

The managerial structure, discussed above, may be diagrammatically represented as on page 216.

In institutional management, we are able to identify at least five groups of executives who may be regarded as being of one level, as stratification is less noticeable in autonomous institutions of higher or third level education than elsewhere; they are:

(a) policy-making and executive generalist - i.e. the Head of the University Grants Committee or its equivalent or the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry or its equivalent - the officer who serves as a link between the government and the institutions;

(b) general management - i.e. the President or the Vice-Chancellor of a university or a college; the Director or Principal of an institute and the Secretary or Registrar;

(c) academic management - i.e. Deans, Heads of departments, Directors of research, extension services, guidance and counselling, etc.;

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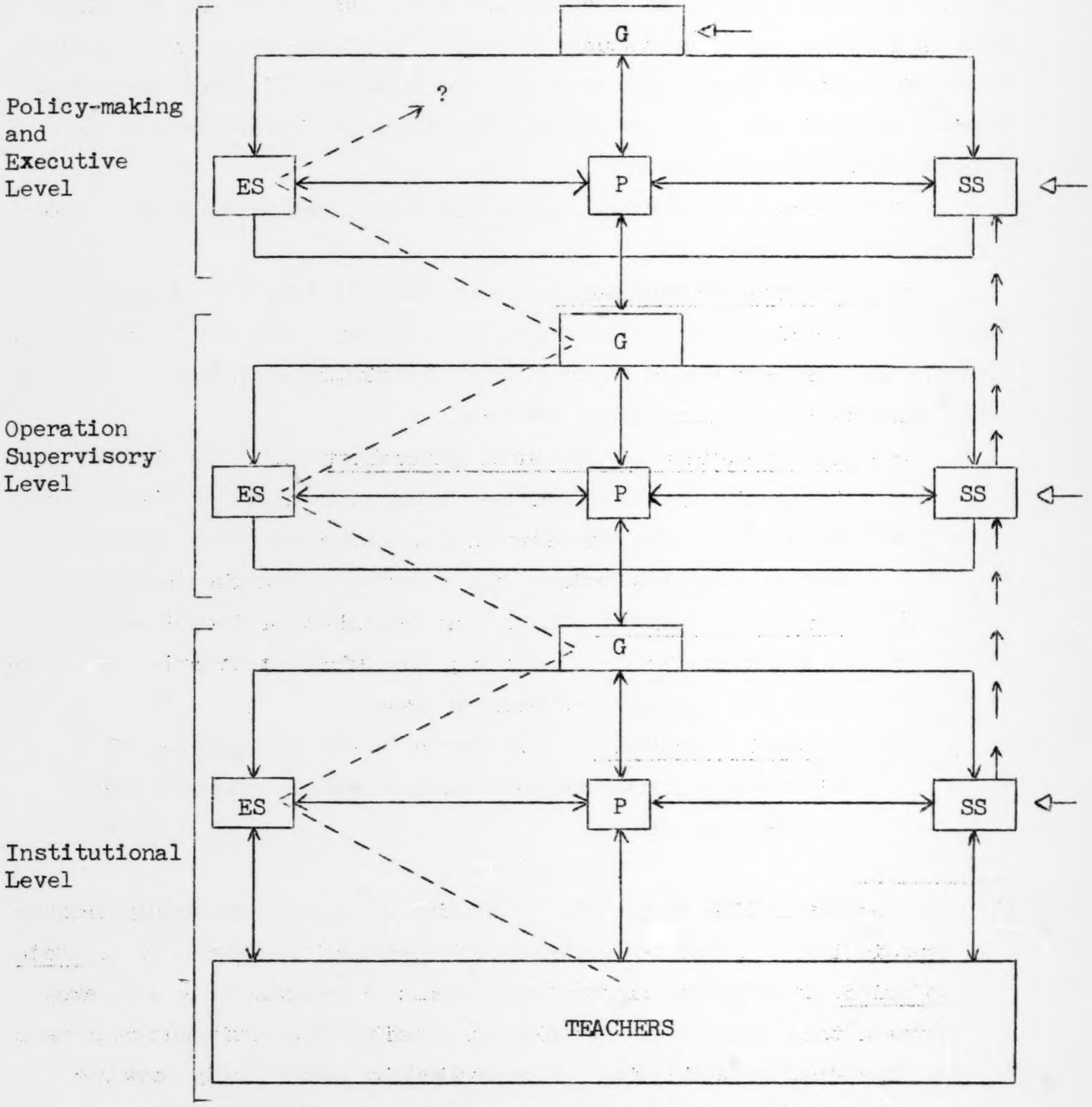
(1) Cf. Unesco/ED/ICEP/3, p. 76. "Planning calls for impeccably-trained specialists ... what is perhaps most needed at the outset is a state of mind, at once intellectual and moral: a refusal to be led away from a total view of the problem by details; a continuous awareness of the final ends in view; a determination not to dodge awkward problems or to water down solutions which may displease others; a resolution to carry through decisions; a capacity for detecting the key difficulties and to move back step by step in solving a problem; finally, imagination tempered by realism."

Educational Management Structure (system management)


Policy-making and Executive Level
Operation Supervisory Level
Institutional Level
G
ES
P
SS
?
TEACHERS

- - - - - = Usual line of promotion in educational management.

→ → → = Line of promotion in supporting services.

—▷ = Recruitment or transfer from outside.

(d) specialists in supporting services - i.e. accountants, architects, engineers, medical officers, hostel wardens, officers in charge of placement, student welfare, data-processing, campus security, etc.;

(e) planning technicians.

Problems of recruitment, training and professional growth of executives of institutional management are quite different from those belonging to system management. As such we shall proceed to discuss them separately.

I. System management

In order to assess the magnitude as well as the complexity of these problems, it will be helpful to elaborate the management structure, we have so far indicated in outline, and list the kind of specialities demanded by different functions:

(i) policy-making and executive level

  (a) generalists: Permanent Secretary or Secretary General and his deputies and the Director (-General) of Education or Public Instruction or Chief Education Officer, where he functions as a generalist rather than a technical adviser to the Permanent Secretary or Secretary General;

  (b) educational services: the Director (-General) of Education or Public Instruction or Chief Education Officer where he functions as a technical adviser to the Permanent Secretary or Secretary General; line directors, heads of departments, divisions or branches in charge of curriculum development and renewal, publication or approval of text-books, preservice and in-service teacher training, research and examinations; organizers and co-ordinators of non-formal educational services (e.g. on-the-job training and apprenticeship programmes);

  (c) supporting services: accountants, architects, engineers and officers in charge of supplies, stores, transportation, hostels, canteens, feeding programmes, health services, etc.;

- (d) planning technicians: the Head of the Planning Unit, statisticians, manpower experts, cost analysts, etc.;

(ii) operation-supervisory level
- (a) generalists: directors, superintendents or educational officers in charge of regional or district departments or offices of education;
- (b) educational services: the inspectorate, both general and specialist;
- (c) supporting services: field inspectors and supervisors in charge of school building and maintenance programmes, transportation, hostels, canteens, feeding programmes, supplies and stores services, etc., in a region or district;
- (d) planning technicians: officers entrusted with the preparation of the regional or district plan;

(iii) institutional level
- (a) generalists: the head of the school and his deputy or deputies;
- (b) educational services: sectional or departmental heads, specialist teachers in charge of curriculum, supervision of instruction, guidance and counselling, librarians, organizers of co-curricular and extra-mural activities, etc.;
- (c) supporting services: registrars, secretaries, bursars, hostel wardens and officers responsible for the plant and facilities, maintenance and sanitation, health services, supplies and stores, feeding, transportation, etc.;
- (d) planning technicians: officers or teachers entrusted with the preparation of the school plan.

Our main attention has to be focused on the recruitment, the training and the professional growth of generalists, specialists of educational services and planning technicians. Specialists in supporting services do not present a major difficulty as they invariably belong to already well-defined and well organized professions extending beyond the confines of educational management. Their recruitment, training, terms and conditions of service, promotions, and professional growth are generally dealt with on a national basis. In most countries they come to the educational management only for specified periods of time for they are liable to be transferred from department to department. In their case, there exists one important problem; that is to give them a reorientation for the special tasks demanded by education. A professionally qualified and experienced architect will still need to understand the special functional requirements of educational buildings as well as to perfect new techniques of handling large-scale building operations where reduction of cost becomes as important as utilizing to the full the capacity of the building industry in all parts of the country. An accountant, transferred to the educational management, will have to master problems of educational finance which will call for a fair acquaintance with the calculation of unit costs, cost-benefit and cost-effectiveness analysis and educational budgeting. Similarly, a statistician will require further training to equip himself to collect, analyse and interpret educational statistics. Can this type of on-the-job orientation be done nationally? It is becoming increasingly evident that even the bigger countries, where a sufficient number of persons in each profession is available to justify special programmes of training, find this task very difficult because:

(i) qualified and experienced trainers are not readily available; and

(ii) teaching materials for such programmes have still not been developed adequately.

The solution for the moment is in international co-operation. It is important that efforts to improve educational management should encompass specialists of supporting services who need an educational reorientation to make them more competent and thus more useful to the planned development of education.

Generalists and specialists of educational services are usually ex-teachers. The winding dotted line in the diagram on page 216 shows the usual path by which teachers are recruited or promoted to the higher rungs of educational management. At the institutional level, a teacher has a better chance of becoming the head if he becomes a specialist in educational services like a sectional head or supervisor and such positions are given on (a) seniority or (b) merit and aptitude or (c) additional educational qualifications. It is not unusual to offer positions as specialists to teachers of certain subjects (usually science and mathematics) by way of incentives to attract them to or keep them in the teaching profession. In such cases, these teachers find themselves elevated as heads of schools on the basis of their salary level and are soon lost to the special field for which they were recruited. This presents a dual problem: first, the preferential treatment given to him makes no contribution to the educational effort for which it is intended and second, a less experienced teacher gets to a position of the head of the school over the heads of persons with longer and quite likely more varied years of service. But can such a situation be avoided? Besides binding such a teacher to serve a specified period in the specialist position before seeking a promotion, there is nothing that can be done.

But the more serious problem is caused by promotions on purely seniority grounds. This is really the bane of public service all over the world. Nothing kills the enthusiasm and innovative spirit of a person as the non-recognition of his special merits for purposes of quick promotion and the sight of incompetent and, sometimes, utterly negligent and lethargic persons getting promotions merely because of their age. The private sector has been able to maintain a higher degree of efficiency mainly because it rarely accepts this principle in its personnel management. Promotions on seniority not only bring a person to a superior position without requiring any special skills or aptitudes on his part but also give him greater authority and responsibility when he is mentally and physically less active and alert. Few countries in the world have escaped the problems caused by such promotions particularly in educational management. Where jobs are scarce, the security of permanent employment is greatly cherished and the mobility of people is highly restricted, the concentration of automatically promoted old hands in positions of authority and responsibility has become the most serious single cause of inactivity and absence of progress. This applied not only to the institutional level but also to others - and specially to the highest level of policy-making and the executive.

Merit promotions, again, are equally problematic. A teacher is rewarded for his competence as a teacher by elevating him to the rank of a school head and a school head for his efficient management of the school to the inspectorate. A good teacher need not necessarily be a good headmaster and nor is an efficient headmaster _ipso facto_ a competent inspector. It is not unusual for such promotions to rob different levels of educational management of persons sorely needed there and elevating them to positions where they neither serve the cause of education nor feel happy about their own work. There are instances when conscientious persons had refused promotions given to them on the grounds that they had no aptitude or personal liking for the job entailed in the higher office. But they are extremely rare. It is, therefore, important that other means of rewarding merit than promoting one to a higher position with different responsibilities should be found. In some countries this has already been thought of and teachers and school heads, who perform at a high level of competence at the institutional level, are provided with opportunities to earn salaries and other benefits equivalent to those of higher echelons.(1)

If promotions on grounds of seniority and merit are discouraged, the only other means of recruitment to the different levels of the educational management are:

(i) promotions on grounds of proven skills and special aptitudes;

(ii) promotions on the acquisition of special qualifications denoting a pre-service preparation for the duties in the higher position;

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(1) Cf. Ceylon where a super-grade principal is on the same salary scale as a chief education officer in charge of a district and an assistant teacher on a Grade I special post gets as much as an inspector of schools.

(iii) direct recruitment from outside the educational service. There is no doubt in our minds that each level of educational management will have to find its executives from its lower levels, and persons, with direct classroom experience as teachers and inspectors, possess an important qualification that fits them more readily into a career in educational management; that is their intimate knowledge of the teaching-learning process, the raison d'être of the entire educational organization. But the fact that each level has its own special characteristics and calls for a particular type of skill makes it necessary for us to sound a warning note that each person has to be subjected to the closest scrutiny possible before being elevated to a higher position. As the positions become more important, one has to look for not only qualifications and skills but also to those qualities of head and heart which make for leadership, initiative, courage, involvement and dedication.

There is much that can be said in favour of drawing new blood into educational management. In most countries the permanent secretary or his equivalent and some of his senior assistants are drawn from the senior civil service or the administrative service of the country. Some draw their educational managers at the highest level from among graduates of national institutes of public administration with or without special preparation for educational functions. These officers are most likely to bring a new outlook along with their experience in other governmental activities. But their usefulness depends, as in the case of teachers and educational personnel, on the degree of interest they show in educational management and on the training they are given for its special functions. As the International Conference on the World Crisis in Education concluded:

> "Good managers can sometimes be found in other professions, but they must be carefully retrained for educational tasks."(1)

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(1) Philip H. Coombs: loc.cit., p. 177.

A fruitful source of talent, which so far has been inadequately tapped, is the university service. In most countries, there is little or no mobility between the system management and the institutional management and the absence of closer contact and co-ordination between them is to their mutual disadvantage. Just as managers from other professions can bring new attitudes and a fresh outlook to educational management, professors from universities can make a specific contribution from both their theoretical knowledge and their training in research methodologies. They will also serve another vital purpose; their presence will be an effective safeguard against the development of bureaucratic tendencies in the educational management. Academic men, with their background training in observation and experimentation and in marshalling, analysing and critically examining data and information and also with their professional experience in discussion, exchange of views and ideas and stimulation of new lines of thinking, are known to contribute towards a healthy attitude of counteracting the bureaucratic ritual of office minutes, files, precedents and red-tape.

At what points in the educational management should provision be made for direct recruitment? There can be no hard and fast rule about this. But experience shows the grades of specialists in educational services at all three levels to be better positions for new-comers than those of generalists. In fact, it is advisable to select the generalist head of each level from among the specialists in educational services of that level. Not only is the latter position a training ground for the functions of leadership but a generalist head without an adequate background in educational services tends to overemphasize routine aspects of management - particularly personnel and financial management - thus disturbing the equilibrium among different functions.

Whatever the method of recruitment be, an adequate preparation for the duties of the new post is a sine qua non. The question is no longer asked whether one can be taught or trained to become a better manager or administrator. Nor are the older concepts that techniques of management and administration can be learnt only (a) by empirical experience in managerial and administrative positions and (b) through a slow process of trial and error and of mastering the tricks of the trade by close observation of experienced practitioners in action accepted as valid. Experience in business management has shown that the performance of an average executive can be spectacularly improved by means of formal training on a pre-service, pre-promotion and in-service basis. Hence the inclusion of such courses as 'administrative theory', 'scientific management', 'decision theory' and 'organizational behaviour' in the curriculum of most universities and business colleges both in and outside the U.S.A. These courses usually consist of two parts:

(a) a theoretical part wherein a body of information is presented to students - the subject-matter being suitably culled from a variety of social sciences relevant to the nature of management functions envisaged for them; and

(b) a practical part wherein the principles learnt from theory and case studies are applied in real-world situations (i.e. through supervised internship) or in simulations.

The fundamental objective is to enable students to (a) understand the nature and scope of management, (b) master basic tools for management analysis, information processing, systems analysis and operations research, (c) develop skills in interpersonal relations and group dynamics and (d) anticipate political, sociological and psychological constraints and barriers. The training, where it is highly developed, is so intensive that the goal aimed at is a fundamental change in the basic attitudes and personality characteristics of the trainees to equip them both intellectually and emotionally for their roles as decision-makers, bargainers, morale-builders and organizational leaders. They are made proficient not only in sophisticated decision-making techniques and procedures and in the use of intricate equipment but also in the handling of human beings both as individuals and in groups. In short, the training is designed to make the executive an efficient complement to the machines by incorporating into the process of managerial judgment the use of mechanistic decision-making devices over and above (if not, in place of) executive intuition and experience.

Is this the type of training best suited for the educational executive? The answer to this question is both yes and no. Certain categories of educational administrators perform functions similar in every respect to those of a business executive. But other than at the level of schools, they are specialists in supporting services and, as we have already pointed out, may have received the type of professional training necessary for their functions. Nevertheless, to the school teacher or the institutional administrator who has to perform a multiplicity of educational-cum-administrative functions, a basic training in efficient business practices can be an asset. For instance, an institutional administrator responsible for a large-scale transportation programme will find a knowledge of linear programming both handy and cost-saving. Similarly, he will benefit from a knowledge of business operations and problems if he is responsible for the management of hostels, canteens, and bookshops. Further, every institutional administrator needs some proficiency in accounting and auditing procedures. But all this can be of a basic nature. It is of little value to make him expert in business management merely to play his limited role in that sphere.

On the other hand, a different kind of training is necessary to enable the educational executive to function effectively as a 'development generalist'. Donald C. Stone defines a development generalist as follows:

> "They hold responsible positions in offices of prime ministers, presidents, planning and budget agencies, and cabinet secretariats; in development banks; in co-ordination and implementation agencies; in central ministries; and in educational institutions. They are the chief directors and administrators of development. Development generalists are needed also as advisors and researchers for government and for the staff of institutes and schools. Such persons require a very broad and intensive preparation."(1)

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(1) Education for Development Administration: A Symposium, International Institute of Administrative Services, Brussels, 1966, p. 35.

Stone envisaged for them a kind of training programme which would require a mixture of:

(i) the basic conditions for development action;
(ii) substantive issues and problems;
(iii) development procedures;
(iv) technological requirements;
(v) resource mobilization and application; and
(vi) other significant elements relevant to the particular category of personnel.(1)

As educational resources or instruments which should be utilized for such training both on a pre-service and on an in-service basis, he recommended:

(a) incorporation, in secondary school and university curricula from which civil servants are widely recruited, of those social science and other subjects which provide broad background in the economic, social, political, and technical problems which the country faces in its national development;
(b) creation of special undergraduate and post-graduate public administration programmes which stress economic and social development and which channel personnel directly into the main stream of administrative responsibility in the country's civil services at national, regional and local levels;
(c) inclusion in the curricula of professional schools(2) of courses which feature development problems and applications in the specialized field;
(d) provision, through a national institute or school of public administration, for a pre-entry period of special preparation of secondary school or university graduates who have been selected for recruitment into the civil service;

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(1) Ibid., p. 37.

(2) In respect of education, these would be the teachers' colleges.

(e) enrolment, in in-service training programmes of shorter or longer duration, of civil servants who need greater knowledge and skills to carry out present or proposed development tasks; such programmes may be conducted by general or specialized institutes or schools, by departmental training units, or on an ad hoc basis with external assistance;

(f) assignment of personnel at pre-entry or in-service stages of academic and non-academic programmes in relevant development administration fields conducted in other countries or by regional and international organizations;

(g) conduct of conferences and seminars for senior civil servants and ministers with or without the help of a school or institute.(1)

Before we discuss how such a programme can be adapted to train educational executives, it may be useful to examine several types of professional training already contemplated and attempted. Cooke and Dunhill, basing their experience on the British educational system, envisage a preparation for heads of schools comprising a study of the following themes:

(i) the aims of school education;

(ii) planning the curriculum and the time-table;

(iii) the school in the community - the governing body, parents and the school;

(iv) the school as a community;

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(1) Ibid., pp. 39-40. Cf. Organizing Schools and Institutes of Administration: A Handbook on planning, improving and managing centres of education, research and advisory services in public development and business administration. Graduate School of Public and International Affairs, University of Pittsburg, 1969, pp. 2-4, which list undergraduate professional education, post-graduate professional education, in-service non-degree training, training in related fields, senior seminar conferences, professional and technical conferences, regional training and conferences, research, advisory services, publications and library and reference services.

(v) the social education of the pupils - character, social behaviour and adaptability: the family and beyond, responsibility and service, co-operative spirit, the school spirit;

(vi) the principal and the staff - the duties of the principal, the relationship between the principal and his staff, the duties of the staff, academic studies and practical activities, teaching load, assessing, guiding and supervising staff;

(vii) the staff and the pupils - daily routine, assessing the pupils' progress, discipline and guidance;

(viii) school administration - finance, estimates, control of expenditure, supplies of books, furniture and other equipment, upkeep of buildings and grounds, linking with ancillary services (e.g. school health service, youth employment service);

(ix) school and class libraries;

(x) extra-curricular activities - societies and clubs, games, special occasions.

For other educational executives, the themes suggested are:

(i) the pattern of organization and control - the central government, the provincial, state or regional government, the local community within the province, state or region, the individual school or college or small groups of schools or colleges;

(ii) the aims of education - the objectives in the schools, the curriculum, education for community living;

(iii) basic needs - the supply and training of teachers, books and other school requirements, sites and buildings;

(iv) finance;

(v) educational service and leadership;

(vi) methods of promoting and maintaining efficiency - training courses and conferences, teachers' associations, supervision and inspection;

(vii) ancillary services - the school health service, transfer from school to work, the profitable use of leisure, adult education.(1)

It is clear that this training is oriented to the efficient execution of day-to-day administrative or 'maintenance' functions rather than to wider responsibilities of development involving changes and innovations. Such a programme smacks too strongly of official manuals, regulations and circulars and the net result of that training may only be a thorough grasp of traditional concepts and procedures which are useful only in a deeply ingrained conservative setting. There is little doubt that this type of preparation does not make the institutional administrator or the educational executive a development generalist. In contrast to this, a wider programme was suggested by L.J. Lewis and A.J. Loveridge to consist of:

(i) government of education;
(ii) schools and government action;
(iii) the administrative art in education;
(iv) the frontiers of education;
(v) the law of children;
(vi) teachers;
(vii) morality and voluntary agencies;
(viii) economics and education;
(ix) money and education;
(x) grants in aid and financial assistance;
(xi) demographic and other statistics;
(xii) educational planning.(2)

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(1) D. Cooke and J. Dunhill: School Organization and Management and A Short Guide to Educational Administration, University of London Press, 1963, (second impression 1966) and 1962 (second impression 1966).

(2) L.J. Lewis and A.J. Loveridge: The Management of Education, London, Pall Mall Press, 1965.

The main virtue of this programme is the recognition it has given to the study of legal, economic and administrative background to education as well as to the application of the principles of 'administrative art' to education.

The programmes in operation in the U.S.A., on the other hand, are overly weighted towards a study of the theory of administration. An average university course in educational or school administration centres round the study of such topics as:

(i) the development of the administrative theory - classical theories of organization of Taylor, Fayol, Gulick and Weber; human relations approach of Follett and Mayo; other approaches of Barnard, Simon, Morton and Argyris;

(ii) administrative process - planning, organization, direction and control;

(iii) aspects of school administration - federal and state educational organization, school boards, school principalship, inspection of schools;

(iv) theory of educational administration - Bobbit, Sears, Koopman, Walton, Getzels, etc.(1)

In recent years, the search has been for a social science content for such preparatory programmes and Jack Culbertson has suggested the following:

(i) "making decisions - included would be concepts and theories pertinent to individual, group, organization and community decision-making, the relationship of such matters as basic research, operations research, and computer technology to decision-making would also be examined, as would value dilemmas which administrators face;

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(1) For a general view of the American concept of educational administration, see Theodore J. Jenson and David L. Clark: Educational Administration, New York, The Center for Applied Research in Education, 1964.

(ii) communication - theories of one-way, two-person, small-group, and organizational communication would be studied. Special consideration would be given to such matters as opinion change, mass communication, informal networks, and communication in large bureaucracies. Value issues faced by administrators would also be examined;

(iii) coping with change - the dynamics of change in relation to individuals, groups, organizations and communities would be examined. Specific attention would be given to such matters as barriers to change, factors facilitating change, conflict in change, leadership and change, and related matters;

(iv) building morale - bases of personal satisfaction in the context of modern organizations would be examined. Special consideration would be given to motivation, perception, interpersonal relations, value infusion, organizational loyalty, and related topics."(1)

Where any operational elements are included, they relate to matters of business management (transportation, catering and school plant and facilities) which occupy the major attention of school administrators in the U.S.A.

In comparison to the training programmes of Britain and the U.S.A., the pre-service preparation, provided for educational executives, by the Institut National d'Administration Scolaire et Universitaire of France is both compehensive and well-balanced. Designed specially for the training and the professional growth of superior officers of the national Ministry of Education and the universities, the programme consists of three parts:

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(1) The Sixty-Third Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, loc.cit., p. 316. See also Jack Culbertson: Common and Specialized Content for Preparing Administrators in Preparation Programmes for School Administrators (ed. Donald Leu and Herbert Rudman), Michigan State University Press, 1963.

(a) general training;
(b) technical training; and
(c) methodological training.

The general training is primarily a process of integrating the intellectual achievements of trainees and of filling gaps; e.g. those from the faculty of letters are given a basic knowledge of law while those from the law faculty are given a grounding in humanities. The training of the 'whole administrator' is pursued through three means, namely, general administrative science or scientific management, political economy and social sciences. It is not a deep study of any of these subjects that is intended here. The emphasis is rather on the study of certain special problems which have a direct relation with education and on the analysis of institutional mechanisms which assist decision-making in each of these sectors. The study of administration embraces:

(i) objectives of education;
(ii) the administrative machinery of the Ministry;
(iii) the analysis of special features of the French civilization relevant to administration; and
(iv) the principal auxiliary techniques of administrative action, i.e. (a) information; (b) statistics; (c) documentation; (d) mechanization; (e) organization; (f) initiation to mathematical concepts and reasoning.

While the general training is intended to fit a person to any kind of management or administrative position, the technical training equips him with specialized skills necessary to perform different functions he would be called upon to undertake. This includes:

(a) research services - forecasts, planning and budgeting;
(b) general regulation of standards and norms;
(c) financial administration;
(d) arbitration;
(e) personnel administration;
(f) group dynamics; and
(g) institutional management (construction, equipment and purchases).

The methodological training is designed to give the trainee a mastery over all means which could permit him to achieve the highest level of efficiency possible. These range from the art of commanding, the direction of a team, the presentation of a talk and presiding over a conference to sports and the study of foreign languages. The method of training adopted by the Institut National d'Administration Scolaire et Universitaire is threefold:

(i) the acquisition of a broad general knowledge and the study of techniques relevant to the national educational administration;

(ii) the application of such knowledge under the supervision of experienced administrators; and

(iii) inquiries, personal studies, individual or group research, both free and directed.(1)

To train the educational executive as a development generalist, a programme comprising the best elements of the three types of courses discussed above has to be evolved. In this respect it is useful to bear in mind that the rapid pace at which knowledge in diverse fields expand as well as the constant changes which are being made in every human organization on the basis of such knowledge would not permit anyone to be trained to handle a particular function for too long a time. As R.P. Khosla has argued;

> "training is not a once-for-all affair which can be concentrated into a single point of time but should be a continuous process. A good training programme should generate in the administrator an awareness of the multifariousness of the duties that he will have to perform during his career situation and the ability to distinguish the unimportant from the trivial in any situation ... One of the greatest successes of a training programme is to implant

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(1) Jacques Minot: L'Administration de l'Education Nationale, Institut Pedagogique National, Paris, 1964, pp. 196-201.

> in the trainee an appreciation of the fact that learning in a continuous process and an anxiety to participate in that process himself."(1)

If such a principle is accepted, educational executives have to be trained at least three times in their career on a pre-service basis before recruitment or promotion to:

(a) the institutional level;
(b) the operation-supervisory level; and
(c) the policy-making and executive level.

In each case, a trainee will have to be groomed in the variety of duties he is likely to handle during the following five-to-ten years, noting, of course, that in-service training programmes will become necessary within that period to update his knowledge as innovations and changes are introduced.

The pattern of development of the profession of educational management throughout the world seems to indicate that every teacher is potentially an educational executive, for even those who prefer classroom teaching to office functions become sooner or later specialists in educational as well as supporting services in the school. Therefore, the training required for management at the institutional level can usefully be incorporated in programmes of preparation conducted for would-be teachers by universities and teachers' colleges. Once a degree of basic training is ensured at this stage, a pre-service refresher course may equip a teacher for functions of an institutional administrator, even if no pre-service training is contemplated for heads of schools.

A strong case exists for the creation of a special training institute (whether independently or as a part of a university or a teachers' college) for the preparation of executives at the operation-supervisory level. Nothing can be more effective in overhauling the educational systems of most countries than providing a sound training of at least one year before teachers and heads of schools assume roles in the inspectorate. The multiplying value of their training will more than justify both its financial and opportunity costs.

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(1) R.P. Khosla: Training the Administrator: The Problem of Motivation - The Indian Journal of Public Administration, Vol. XI, No. 4, p. 730.

As regards training programmes for those recruited or promoted to the policy-making and the executive level, the proper organization to handle them is the national institute of public administration which most countries have set up to train officers of the general civil service. At this level, the educational executive performs functions which are in no way different to those of his colleagues in other ministries. Further, few countries will have the resources to provide in sectoral institutions the sophisticated training required for high level managers. In fact, as in the case of specialists in supporting services, some smaller countries may find it more convenient to have their senior educational administrators trained through internationally constituted centres or institutions.

A major question in respect of training programmes is the determination of the content. In spite of the evolution of a science of management as a fully-fledged discipline, one thing is definite: it is still far from being universal in either its principles or their application. While some degree of stability in concepts - even for short lengths of time adequate for training purposes - is to be observed in respect of business administration, the field of public administration remains altogether vague, primarily because the political, social and cultural forces influencing it are for the most part unpredictable. From this point of view, educational administration is the most complicated of all types of sectoral management, as education is very highly influenced by formidable racial, linguistic, religious, cultural, social and political factors with strong local overtones. Few subjects of public administration are as sensitive and emotionally charged as education. It is not at all easy to develop a theory of educational administration and those who attempted to do so (specially in the U.S.A.) confined their attention basically to two basic relationships, namely; intra-school relationship (between principal and teachers and among teachers) and the school-superintendent-school board relationship. A few attempted to include school-community relations in evolving a theoretical basis to educational management. Much can be gained from the studies made in the U.S.A. even though they may not throw much light on the complex situation which exists in other countries with deep-rooted traditional systems, die-hard bureaucratic machineries and nascent political and social power structures. All these mean that the content of a training programme developed in one country cannot be imported into that of another. Where that is attempted, the result will be quite unsatisfactory in the sense that the person trained will not be equipped to cope with problems of his own environment. Instead, he would have only been taught certain conceptual and theoretical aspects of educational administration, which, besides providing him with much food for thought, may not, in most cases, give him any pragmatic or feasible guidance. A negative result of such a programme is the risk of changing the attitude of an executive to cynicism and skepticism.

The fact that the content of training programmes has to be designed to meet the specific political, social and cultural demands of each country cannot be overemphasized; actually, this consideration should go further to give adequate weightage and representation to differences that are bound to exist within the country among regions as well as racial, religious, social and cultural groups. Under these circumstances, we will not pretend to offer any suggestions for a universally valid or applicable content for training programmes. Our effort will be only to spell out a few guidelines for the choice of both subject-matter and methodology. They are intended to serve as the barest minimum to ensure the efficiency of training.

Before we proceed to identify some area of knowledge, experience and practice for training programmes, it is important to draw out attention to a serious lapse which is bound to occur unless we take adequate care to avert it right at the beginning. There is nothing that is as effective in destroying the flexibility in the development of knowledge and in killing the enthusiasm for the furtherance of understanding as reducing a unit of subject-matter into a regulation or rule. When the observance of the regulation - minimally, of course - becomes more important than the practical objective of increasing the trainee's administrative efficiency and effectiveness, the content tends to remain fossilized and become, within a brief period, totally unrelated to the purpose for which it was designed. A critical examination of the actual content - (i.e. what is accomplished in the classroom rather than what is published in the official catalogue or prospectus) - of courses in educational administration, offered by certain universities, reveals the gulf that can arise between training and practice. A more familiar example of this type of 'missing the mark' is the teacher-training programme of practically every country. To minimize this danger, if not to eliminate it altogether, the programmes of training should include as wide a variety of cognitive, cogitational and practical experiences as possible; and as far as feasible and as often as practicable, the trainee should be dealing with real-world situations as they obtain at the time of training.

For that purpose, the training programme should be conceived of as comprising three definite stages and several specific ingredients, as follows:

1. Pre-service or pre-promotion off-the-job training
    - 1.1 Theory
    - 1.2 Practical exercise:
        - 1.21 observation
        - 1.22 supervised internship
        - 1.23 simulation
2. In-service on-the-job training
    - 2.1 Theory
    - 2.2 Supervised practice or apprenticeship
3. In-service off-the-job training
    - 3.1 Theory
    - 3.2 Practical exercise:
        - 3.21 observation
        - 3.22 supervised internship
        - 3.23 simulation
    - 3.3 Research:
        - 3.31 case-studies
        - 3.32 problem-solving
        - 3.33 experimentation and innovation.

Ideally, every educational executive should have opportunities to go through all three stages of training at each level of his career. But it is beyond the reach of even the most developed countries. If they can be given one pre-service or pre-promotion training programme and two or three in-service refresher courses during their full career, that would ensure a remarkable improvement in the quality of management in education. In fact, there can be no other way by which the operational barriers which we had discussed earlier (vide pp. 112-113) can be eliminated as effectively as introducing the executives to new ways of doing things and periodically getting them to think about and experiment with newer administrative and management techniques. In this respect, in-service off-the-job training is a crucial strategy. Not only should the very senior persons at the national and state ministry level be released for such programmes of training as is done today in most countries, but executives of every category should be given a chance once every while to get away from their desks and to look upon their work and working habits, their attitudes and behaviour and their impact and effectiveness objectively and critically. Not only will such self-appraisal lead to self-correction but their observations can be of vital importance in evolving new techniques and methods of management.

With these initial remarks on the possible stages or types of training, let us examine the main characteristics of a curriculum which would satisfy our needs. We must, at this stage, recall our intention (a) to make our educational executive a 'development generalist', and (b) to confine any training programme to duties and functions an executive is called upon to perform within the following five-to-ten years. Both these considerations lead us to a strategy which is not only pedagogically sound but also pragmatic and useful in implementation; that is to make the thorough grasp of the current situations and problems of educational management relevant to the level of the trainee the first step in the training programme. Although much lip-service is paid to this principle in training, in actual practice this is often lost sight of, for the simple reasons that:

(a) the presentation of information - theories, assumptions and hypotheses - culled from text-books is much easier and less time-consuming;

(b) discussions on current conditions and problems are not possible unless the trainer has a thorough grasp of facts, gathered preferably by direct personal experience, and unless he is mature and responsible enough to review them objectively; and

(c) the atmosphere in which the training is undertaken does not always allow adequate freedom and latitude for the trainer and the trainees to engage themselves in frank and candid criticism without fear of repercussions and unpleasantness.

Official jealousies, prejudices and suspicions at the regional level, regional rivalries and antagonisms at the national level and demands of diplomacy at the international level add further constraints and nothing more than merely scratching the surface is attempted in the majority of programmes where any effort is made to review the existing situation in educational management. So this matter becomes one of prime importance in designing the content. To what degree, can the methods, attitudes and behaviours of functioning educational executives be subjected to scrutiny to detect remediable flaws of either the organization or the individuals? What is the model against which such methods, attitudes and behaviours can be measured and evaluated and what are the possible criteria?

Here again, educational management meets the problem which bugs any kind of evaluation in the educational system. There is no simple balance sheet which reveals whether the system functions satisfactorily or not. Even if one is designed on the basis of fulfilling national manpower requirements or on the internal efficiency of education, the administration can, quite convincingly and to some extent quite accurately, explain away any flagrant defects as caused by political, financial and social constraints rather than inadequacies in management. It is not surprising that most organization and methods reviews, undertaken by government departments, end on the note that nothing would have gone wrong if there were enough personnel, up-to-date equipment and more operating capital. A survey of the current situation and problems of educational management, which follows a similar pattern of argument will be of no value at all in a training programme.

If a nation takes up the training of its educational executives with the seriousness of purpose it deserves, the first step has to be an inquiry into its educational administrative practices with the objective of answering the following questions: (a) Discounting the political, social and financial factors, what methods, attitudes, behaviours and inadequacies of the educational administration contribute to the educational problems of the country? (b) What improvements can be made in the organization, the work flow, human relations and resource allocation within educational management to ensure greater efficiency and increased effectiveness in achieving the educational objectives of the nation? These are questions to be approached with magnanimity and humility by all educational executives from the Minister right down to the headmaster of the smallest school. Their observations, criticisms, suggestions and proposals will form the subject-matter on which the theoretical as well as the practical parts of training programmes are to be based.

While we lay emphasis on self-appraisal by the educational management itself, we do not detract from the importance of independent studies by outside observers and research scholars and agencies. All these are grist to the mill of the educational management trainer.

It is on such a wealth of information meticulously and purposefully gathered on the initiative and under the direction of practising educational executives can a 'theory' of educational management be built. Theory as elaborate elsewhere cannot be bodily taken over or copied; what Coldarci and Getzels(1), Halpin(2), Griffiths(3),

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(1) Arthur P. Coladarci and Jacob W. Getzels: The Use of Theory in Educational Administration, Monograph No.5, (Stanford University Press), 1955.

(2) Andrew W. Halpin: 'A Paradigm of Research in Administrative Behaviour' in Administrative Behaviour in Education (ed. Roald F. Campbell and Russell T. Gregg), N.Y., Harper and Bros., 1957.

(3) Daniel E. Griffiths: Administrative Theory, N.Y., Appleton, Century-Crofts Inc., 1959.

Walton(1) or Sears(2) evolved on an empirical observation of the American system or systems of education may throw much light on the methodology of developing a 'theory' applicable to a country, but will not serve as universal statements of truth. What is even more significant is that no theory will remain static very long. It has to be constantly reviewed and updated. So, as the second step towards the perfection of training programmes, an effort has to be made to develop a national 'theory' of educational management and to keep it under constant scrutiny and revision.

The theoretical part of a programme of training includes, besides the two aspects so far discussed, a body of factual knowledge which is essential to enable the educational executive to:

(a) understand the national context in which he operates;
(b) visualize his role in relation to those of others in public administration;
(c) follow intelligently the developments in national life;
(d) communicate easily with his peers in other sectoral managements; and
(e) develop a mature and over-all interest and involvement in the major task of nation-building.

The importance of such a theoretical content becomes obvious when one meets educational executives who are totally ignorant of even the political machinery of their country or the administrative organization of their ministry or department, not to speak of development problems, public finance, national accounts, manpower considerations, statistics or cost-benefit analysis.

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(1) John Walton: Administration and Policy-making in Education, Baltimore John Hopkins Press, 1959.

(2) Jesse B. Sears: The Nature of the Administrative Process with Special Reference to Public School Administration, N.Y. McGraw Hill Book Co. Inc., 1950.

With the happy invasion of educational management by economists, planning technicians and development experts, the educational executive is constantly called upon to cope with the technocratic devices of these new specialists; it is not merely a question of getting used to newfangled technical terms, mathematical models and formulae or graphs, slide-rulers and calculating machines, but also an urgent need and desire to avert the virtual threat of being condemned to 'technological illiteracy'. Assuming that the general education of the country has given fair coverage to civics, elements of economics and basic mathematics, the training programme has to seek ways and means of 'filling gaps'. Besides lectures, readings and discussions, a useful and effective method of achieving this may be found in programmed instruction. Specially designed courses of programmed instruction are already being used in similar courses for training adults in special subjects.

The theoretical part of a training programme has, naturally, to be designed according to the level of the executive. The pre-service off-the-job training, we envisage for all teachers as a part of their teachers' college curriculum, may be restricted to basic civics, simple principles of economics and a mathematical and statistical base to understand projections and fundamental planning techniques, besides elements of accounting. The aim here should be to enable the teacher to recognize the political, administrative, economic and financial frame-work in which he will function first as a teacher, then as a specialist in some educational or supporting service in the school and later on as an institutional administrator. Similarly, the management problems he is made to grapple with should relate to the school level and should include such topics as school-community relations, self-evaluation of curricula and performance, time and space allocation and child and youth motivation, etc., which are directly connected with his work in the school.

This principle should also apply to the determination of the content of the theoretical section of programmes at the operation-supervisory and the policy-making and executive levels. The pre-service or pre-promotion off-the-job training for an inspector/advisor/supervisor has, naturally, to be wider and should comprise both aspects of his duties, viz. pedagogical and administrative. A vital contribution that can be made to the cause of education, at this stage, is to remove from the minds of the trainee the prevalent concept that operation-supervision is a police duty. A 'theory' which can effectively bring about a change in mental attitude has, again, to be evolved in relation to the conditions obtaining in each country. But it should be reiterated that changes in the administrative organization of the inspectorate and the reallocation of its duties should precede the training effort. The factual knowledge necessary at this level includes an intelligent grasp of (a) regional and local administration; (b) social and cultural factors which affect administration and (c) economic and social aspirations and targets of the people and the State.

Here, we meet another point of controversy between theoreticians and pragmatists. Management theorists, who view management to be a multi-disciplinary enterprise, insist on including a fair amount of behavioural sciences in courses of this nature. There is no doubt that a basic knowledge of sociology and psychology is of the utmost value to an executive. But the question is: how much and what aspects? It is on this point that there is no agreement. What seems to happen in practice, specially in universities, is to require a specified number of units in these subjects as a qualifying condition for a programme in management. Or else, the departments of psychology and sociology are called upon to give courses as a part of management training. In both instances, the tendency is to deal with these subjects in an abstract form as if they were pure sciences. It is, therefore, not surprising if a trainee fails to observe any relationship between the behavioral sciences, he is taught, and the management duties, he is expected to perform. A case exists for the evolution of a new series of disciplines, which may be termed management psychology and management sociology, so that the principles and elements, relevant and useful to the executive in matters of formal and informal organizations, inter-personal relations and communication and motivation and attitude-training, are separated from the main stream of those subjects and developed to meet the specific requirements of management. The level of operation-supervision is an ideal point at which such a modified kind of behavioral sciences can be introduced to widen the outlook of the trainee as well as to equip him better for his functions of supervision, regional organization, public relations and planning. While the reduction of behavioural sciences to a form applicable to management functions is important at this stage, their presentation as pure sciences may be quite in order at the policy-making and executive levels. In fact, whenever executives of this level can be released for in-service off-the-job training in universities or institutions of management both in and outside a country, they should be encouraged to study the impact of behavioural sciences on their management functions with a view of drawing inferences and conclusions which may help in revamping the management and administrative organization of the country. Their studies will, if properly directed, supply the content of training programmes for the lower levels.

In all three types of training programmes, we have emphasized the practical aspect. Practical work is most easily organized in respect of in-service on-the-job training, as the trainee can be assigned as an assistant to each officer in turn for a specified period. For an effective programme, the number of trainees has to be the same as or less than the number of executives whose functions are being studied. But this may not be a restricting factor where functions of an executive can be divided or where an executive is in a supervisory position over a staff of subordinate and clerical personnel. For instance, a head of a school may, simultaneously, supervise the practical operations of a number of trainees each of whom will, in turn, undertake a specific function as supervision of teaching, student-discipline, canteen and hostel administration, school-community relations, statistics and planning, record-keeping and accounting, etc. In an office, a trainee may be attached to each officer.

In this respect, an important issue has to be disposed of right at the beginning. In several administrative systems, particularly those in ex-colonial countries, the stratification of staff is so marked that management and administrative functions have their specific place in a rigid status or precedence table. However important it is for a senior executive to know how statistics are collected and processed, records are maintained and retrieved, a plan is conceived and formulated and funds are disbursed and accounted for, the last thing he would do in most countries is to sit beside the junior staff member or the clerical officer and learn from him the methods and techniques in operation. While even the mere observation of the latter at work is itself a difficult proposition, a process of actually doing this 'menial' work under the supervision and guidance of a junior or clerical officer is beyond imagination. This will remain a serious drawback and a primary problem encountered by senior executives in most countries is that a big rift does exist between them and their subordinates to the disadvantage of the former. In the absence of a detailed knowledge of routine operations, the executive depends too heavily on his 'specialized' subordinates who determine the course of decisions and policies through subtle manipulations of data and information presented to him on each case. To our mind, the overall independence of the educational executive is a matter of very great concern. Without that independence of thought and action, he cannot be a leader or an organizer. A mere rubber stamp approving recommendations of subordinate officials is no executive at all. The secret of administrative power, authority and leadership is knowledge and, particularly the knowledge of the internal structure and working of the organization. As such, there is no substitute for learning the internal functioning of an administrative unit from within, direct from 'the horse's mouth' and most effectively by actually handling 'the nuts and bolts'. This hand-soiling part of a training programme is crucial and every effort to overcome prejudices against it is a battle for better and efficient management.

Connected with this issue is the evaluation of methods and techniques observed and learned at the operational level. For instance, a trainee at the policy-making and executive level observing the detailed functioning of an office is bound to find the methods and techniques in operation to be antiquated, inefficient and absolutely contrary to principles of management, he has learnt theoretically or observed in a better-organized industrial or commercial establishment. In the same way, an executive following an in-service off-the-job training programme in a foreign country may discover specific methods and technologies which can be introduced to his country with advantage. Both these reactions need careful and informed analysis. The divergence between theory and practice in one's own country or between the practices of two countries may result from a whole host of cultural, social and economic factors whose understanding will be vital before any reforms are attempted. It is this analysis which will bring the trainee in touch with the living problems of his country. It is a phase which has to be very carefully and systematically handled. To rush to the conclusion that nothing can be done to improve the tradition-laden system of one's country is as detrimental to the development of good management as to be frustrated in efforts to introduce ill-formulated and premature reforms. Here we come once again to the development of a nationally valid 'theory' of management wherein the principles of scientific management are weighed against political, social, cultural and economic realities of the country. Supervised internship or practice has to go hand in hand with such a 'theory' and if such a discipline does not exist, constant evaluation of management theories against prevalent realities has to figure in the training programme at every stage.

A methodological issue with regard to practical work in educational management has, often, been raised with reference to simulation. There is no doubt that simulation, which, with the advent of computers, has been elaborated into an highly sophisticated method, has proved to be extremely successful in the training of industrial and commercial executives. Some institutions, where business operations are simulated in all their complicated details, have found it rewarding to get their trainees to compete as commercial rivals and thus refine their techniques of manipulating production, distribution and markets. The effectiveness of simulation in business management training depends primarily on the fact that a model for successful business can be constructed on the basis of profit. With such a model, the evaluation of simulated activities is both practicable and meaningful. But in the field of public administration this becomes more difficult.

It is true that some training programmes in public administration have resorted to simulation wherein the achievement of a set target (e.g. the establishment of a power transmission line through several local authorities) is taken as the operation; all problems of resources, constraints and opposition are presented by the trainers in assumed capacities as the trainee proceeds with his planning, resource allocation and implementation. A well conceived and stimulating exercise, no doubt, helps to bring out the intellectual capabilities of the trainee as well as to sharpen his analytical tools and develop pragmatic and efficient work-habits. But the whole thing rests on the ingenuity of the trainer and the capacity he has to visualize problems and constraints which are generally not so obvious.

In educational management training, simulation is yet to be accepted as a workable methodology. If there is a prejudice against it in educational circles, it is mainly due to the manner in which simulation was resorted to at the early stages of training educational planners. When educational planning was approached purely as a quantitative problem, the arithmetical exercises in the formulation of a plan could be approached through simulation: 'let us prepare an educational plan for Planiland (or such other imaginery country)' was the usual approach. But as the exercise proceeded and the arithmetical aspects began to appear in their true perspective, the work appeared to be more and more unrealistic. It was too idealistic to expect mathematical accuracy to be reproduced in human reactions which were governed by countless political, social and cultural factors - all too subtle to be universalized or reduced to figures and symbols. If only the limitations of simulation as a methodology of training were clarified at the beginning, no one would have expected it to do anything more than providing a partial learning experience. So the prejudice against simulation is caused not by its failure as a methodology but by its over-ambitious application.

We are convinced that simulation remains the most effective method of teaching management practice to large numbers of trainees. In most cases, it is the only substitute available for supervised internship.

But when it comes to teaching modern management techniques, it is the only available method. PERT or CPA cannot be taught without simulating a net-work of activities. PPBS will be meaningless without a simulated budget-preparation activity. Operations research, management analysis planning or systems analysis and design can be far too theoretical and incomprehensible unless presented through simulated situations. We envisage all these to figure in the training programmes we have in mind for educational executives, of course, varying the content and the emphasis according to the level of the trainee. Educational management, as a skill has to be developed by actual practice; management is a technology rather than a science or an art(1) and can and should be learned as all other branches of technology by a hand-soiling process, which, if unavailable within real-world situations, should be provided in a simulated form as close as possible to the real world. Much of this is easier said than done. Our present state of knowledge is so imperfect that numerous lacunae in information prevents us from reproducing real-world situations within the limitations of the classroom. But it only means that our search for more data has to be continued without a break. Once we use simulation assiduously as our main methodology of training executives, we will continually improve our techniques and make them more effective.

The last issue in relation to content is research as a training process. Here, again there can be differences of opinion. Is it possible for an educational executive, following an in-service off-the-job training programme, to undertake any research into management techniques? Is it the best way for him to use his time and resources? Of what benefit is his research either to him or to the organization? We have already discussed the problem of educational research. (Vide p. 153). Our controversy begins with a confusion over the aims and objectives of research. The tendency has always been to think of research only in terms of fundamental research as prevalent in universities and such other seats of higher learning. But research as a part of a training programme for educational executives has to be conceived as a limited exercise. An experienced executive should have time off every now and then to reflect on his day-to-day work from the constructive point of view of identifying areas demanding reform and improvement. When such time is made available in the form of an off-the-job training programme, there can be no other effective way of getting him to organize his thoughts as directing him to undertake a case study, analyse and solve a particular problem or pursue an experiment for purposes of designing changes and innovations. As already discussed, this exercise is of two-fold benefit. Besides serving as a training medium for the trainee-executive, the experiences of a mature executive are, by this means, made available to enrich the sorely needed teaching material in educational management training.

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(1) There has been much discussion on whether management is a science or an art. If it is a science, it can be 'studied as theory' and if it is an art, it calls for 'a combination of natural talents and skills learnt in practice'. There is greater justification for viewing management as a technology which requires a combination of (a) natural talents and aptitudes (b) a body of scientific knowledge or 'theory' and (c) operational skills mastered by practice.

While we deal with the problem of research and teaching materials, our attention should be drawn to a practical difficulty which may be experienced in the choice and presentation of modern management techniques. We know so little of the applicability of these methods outside the specific administrative units where they were developed as well as outside their countries of origin. However, attractive some of them be in given situations, they may only lead to confusion and complete breakdown in another location unless their introduction is preceded by research and modification. This requirement puts the trainer in a difficult position for he is compelled to test the validity of a technique before its adoption is recommended. But he may have no facilities to do this at all. So there exists a need for specific case-studies as a preparatory step for educational management training. What is very significant in this connexion is that some techniques, however practicable and desirable, may not be introduced to educational management unless and until the general administration of the country has accepted them. For instance, PPBS cannot be adopted by the Ministry of Education if the Ministry of Finance does not believe in it and wants the budget to be prepared in a different form. It will, therefore, be necessary for any programme of training for educational executives to go hand in hand with programmes for public administrators.

Training and providing opportunities to educational executives for their professional growth is only a partial solution. The development of material adjuncts to management by replacing antiquated equipment with modern machinery and office appliances will add a further facet of improvement. But the major step is in another direction altogether; that is the reorganization of the political power-structure to derive optimum benefits from an improved system of management. Theoretically, an efficient public service serves as a check to political excesses and expediency. With the development of elaborate administrative machineries, governed by intricate legislation, precedents and tradition, power and authority have shown a tendency to flow into hands of those with the deepest knowledge of the management processes of the organization. In that sense, to train high level executives is to provide a stabilizing power structure parallel to the political organization of a country. But in reality, this may not be so. The executive, in some countries, may be in a precarious position with little support from the people and no sympathy from politicians serving mostly as a convenient scape-goat when things go wrong. This is usually the case where executives are linear heirs of administrative organizations of metropolitan powers in ex-colonial countries. In such cases, large scale administrative reforms have to be undertaken even before the efficiency profile of its executives is improved through training. The decision to do so is one of policy demanding the attention of the chief executive of a nation.

We have so far discussed the methods of recruitment and training of the educational executive for the purpose of making him a 'development generalist'. By providing him with a wide range of theoretical knowledge and practical experience, it is hoped that he would approach his functions not from a 'maintenance' or 'caretaker' point of view but from the point of view of development. It is this approach which is necessary to bridge the gulf between planning and plan-implementation. When an educational executive reorients his attitudes and work-habits to that of a development generalist he would be in a better position to understand and appreciate the value of his technical colleagues in spheres of planning, economic growth and manpower forecasts, and be prepared to co-operate with them more readily on a national effort towards over-all development.

II. Institutional management

Of the five groups of executives in institutional management (Vide p. 215) our attention is drawn particularly to those in the general management and academic management. We presume that the policy-making and executive generalist is already an officer of the system management, as is always the case in practically every country.

Where a University Grants Committee or a body equivalent to it in powers and functions operate, there may be a greater degree of lay participation and the head of such a body will function more as an implementer of collective decisions rather than an executive. In any case, the question of his recruitment, training and professional growth can be only of academic interest at this stage of our study. But we should certainly bear in mind the need to consider these questions more specifically in respect of any specialists of educational or supporting services such a body employs to service it as well as to carry out its decisions. While specialists of supporting services will require an educational orientation - particularly in relation to the special problems of managing and administering higher educational institutions, specialists in educational services must be men of wide experience chosen preferably from among the senior academic personnel of universities and such other institutions of higher learning. It may be assumed that their functions are mainly: (a) the provision of academic leadership in bringing about changes and innovations in curricula, structure, and methods; (b) the co-ordination of educational activities in different institutions; (c) the correlation of educational development with professional and technical manpower needs of the country; (d) maintenance and improvement of instructional standards; and (e) stimulation, guidance and co-ordination of scientific and technological as well as literary and humanistic research. All these are specialized functions involving a very high degree of professional competence, responsibility and forethought. They also call for vast reserves of personal qualities of tact and patience, besides an enormous capacity to withstand frustration, as the clientele consists of autonomous institutions and overly independent individuals.

To recruit men with an unquestioned reputation in their specialization is to solve one half of the problem. And, if at the same time, they are endowed with the special qualities of head and heart, demanded by their difficult functions, there should be no problem at all. But such people are never plentiful in any country. Persons of average ability may be trained for their functions provided they are temperamentally suitable; but the reverse is never possible. It is not necessary to dilate on the difficulties which inflexible and stubborn executives could bring about in such positions. The training, at this level, can hardly be a formal affair, for one can scarcely think of a category of trainers. For them, the best form of training is what they can derive from each other by frank and well-directed discussion of common problems and mutual experience. Senior seminar conferences, organized on an international basis, and tours of observation and consultation to better-developed institutions remain the main avenues for achieving it.

The recruitment and appointment of the head of a seat of higher learning present many difficulties, most of them stemming from tradition and convention. In newer establishments such as colleges or advanced institutes of technology, a noticeable tendency has been to make these purely administrative functions, performed by the civil service or public service commission, the Minister of Education or a board of governors or management. The selection is generally made out of a number of applicants on the basis of specified qualifications, seniority of experience and performance at an interview. There has been less complications arising from this method of appointment; but, in any case, it has been in operation only for too short a time to evaluate its efficacy as a universal approach.

The older institutions, particularly universities, are in no way uniform. The current practice includes: (a) the election by secret ballot by a specially constituted electorate comprising, as a majority, the staff of the institution; (b) the nomination of several persons by a co-ordinating agency or a specially constituted electorate for final selection of one of them by another authority; (c) a multiple process elections where one authority elects a candidate out of a number of nominations made by another authority on the basis of an election, and (d) selection by a special board which has itself been elected specially for the purpose by the governing authorities of the institution. Variations of these systems are so numerous to be dealt with comprehensively. But one conclusion is permissible. The selection of the head of a university has been, in most countries, made into one of the most complicated and difficult exercises. Advantages and merits of most systems are very doubtful and their complexity is only an indication of the unwillingness or inability to break away from established tradition. Every reform undertaken under such circumstances only add further confusion and complications.

There can be no simple solution to this problem. Much depends on the State-university relations, accepted principles of academic autonomy and public accountability and the personalities involved. But it is no longer an issue to be shelved, for the youth unrest, which is fast becoming characteristic of all seats of higher learning, has drawn our attention - sometimes quite rudely and forcibly - to reforms in management and most of them revolve around the method of appointing the head of the institution.

It may be interesting to find out whether there are signs of an evolving profession of university heads. One could see the semblance of an emerging profession in bigger countries like the U.S.A., India, Canada and to some extent Britain. But recent events, which, unfortunately, had an element of violence and lawlessness, seem to have a negative result in keeping some of the abler and more dedicated men of learning away from management responsibilities. This can be a serious threat to the development of a profession of higher educational executives. Governments as well as public and private bodies responsible for seats of higher learning are no doubt concerned over recent developments and this is revealed by the efforts made by them to attract managers and administrators of proven ability to head these institutions. In this process, a major conceptual change seems to be taking place. Managerial ability appears to receive greater weightage than academic brilliance and reputation. The capacity to deal with people, to bargain and negotiate, to manoeuvre and manipulate and, above all, to identify one's self with the interests and demands of the youth appears to be the most sought-after qualification. It is not always possible to combine high level academic achievements with experience on which such abilities are measured. The result is that industrial and commercial enterprises, public foundations and the senior civil service are offering a serious competition to university academic personnel as supply sources of university heads. While no value judgment on this state of affairs is either possible or justifiable, its repercussions on the development of higher education merits closer scrutiny. On the one hand, it may be argued that the head of a seat of higher learning should be a reputed scholar so that his fame and recognition contributes towards the prestige of the institution. On the other hand, it may be pointed out that the growing problems of higher education demand the competent leadership of men of action. Those in favour of the second argument go further to explain that the present explosion of knowledge and the specialization necessitated by it will not enable any highly specialized scholar to contribute towards the academic development of other fields of study. Whatever be the case, one conclusion is inescapable.

Universities and other seats of higher learning are institutions of high academic prestige and their heads should combine academic brilliance with managerial competence. It is admitted that such men are not readily available. So the only alternative is to place greater emphasis on either qualifications according to the circumstances in which the institution is placed. An appointment made by a responsible authority after ascertaining the availability of possible candidates and determining the aspect (i.e. academic reputation or management competence) which deserves emphasis is certainly more meaningful than an election where the personal charm and popularity, besides favours granted in the past and likely to be granted in the future, are deciding factors.

The other executive in the general management of universities and seats of higher learning is more likely to be a general administrator specializing in financial and personnel management, record-keeping and other supporting services. The position of the Secretary or Registrar provides an avenue to bring about a balance in the managerial competence of the level of general management. Where the head has been appointed for his academic standing, his managerial deficiencies can be compensated for by the recruitment of a competent executive as Secretary or Registrar. Thus the two elements essential at the highest echelon are satisfied by a team of two specialists.

From where should secretaries or registrars come? The present practice is, in most places, to recruit them from within the university administration itself. A senior specialist in a supporting service or a junior generalist is the most likely person to be selected. While much can be said in favour of providing promotion opportunities to younger staff members in an institution, it is important to have a wider group out of which men of ability can be found. The most logical place to look for such men should be the educational system management. Just as we argued in favour of getting university personnel to strengthen the system management, we urge that universities and other institutions should look for their executives in the system management. The benefits, as already emphasized, will certainly be mutual.

Not only should they depend on the system management for recruitment but the training of personnel in the institutional management can also be undertaken jointly. The example of France where high level educational executives for both the national educational ministry and universities are trained together by the Institut National d'Administration Scolaire et Universitaire is a pointer to the feasibility of such arrangements. We strongly urge the need for pre-service or pre-promotion off-the-job training for executives of this level in universities and other seats of higher learning, in addition to international seminar conferences and tours of observation and consultation by way of in-service training programmes.

The academic management presents a different kind of difficulties. Prestige and higher incomes, in most countries, are the preserve of academicians who take up management functions as Deans, Provosts, Chairmen or Heads of departments. Only a very few countries (notably U.S.A.) have evolved a system where an academician devoted to the development of a particular branch of knowledge could continue with his research and teaching without sacrificing any financial gains and without submitting himself to a secondary position in the academic hierarchy. So many of the executives in academic management, as we have already observed, are unwilling and unhappy incumbents of positions which they would never have sought if not for the money and, more than that, the status involved. When the principle of election by colleagues is the method of recruitment, a third consideration enters into the acceptance of such positions, namely, a sense of personal vindication. But these do not contribute to the efficiency of the system.

The important positions in academic management may appear to be primarily academic; but they are definitely administrative as the major responsibilities attached to them include:

(a) the procurement, the organization and the utilization of human, material and financial resources for the development of a branch of knowledge;

(b) the representation of academic interests and the academic point of view in numerous committees, boards and other statutary bodies which tend to proliferate in institutional management;

(c) public relations both as a means of enlisting popular support for the development of the branch of knowledge concerned and as a way of exploring avenues by which the application of such knowledge can be ensured, the success of such efforts being judged on the basis of financial grants obtained on governmental and non-governmental contracts canvassed; and

(d) the management of student affairs which range from preparing testimonials and serving as references to designing tailor-made programmes to meet individual needs.

There is no doubt that these functions call for a kind of skill different from academic proficiency and excellence. A competent research scholar, very often, not only finds such work unsavoury because of his temperamental aversion to non-academic activities but also complicates matters by his sheer incapacity to handle people or take prompt decisions. In academic management, more than anywhere else in the process of educational management, the special requisites of management as a sophisticated skill have to be stressed with no reservations.

The main symptoms of educational mismanagement such as student agitation, seem to point to the increasing importance of emphasizing the management aspect of academic management. It is important to appoint only those who are genuinely interested in and temperamentally inclined to a full-time career in management to such positions as Deans, Chairmen and Heads of departments. An academician who undertakes academic management has to make this hard choice, for geniuses capable of an equally high level of performance in both spheres are only very rarely encountered. Here again, what is called for is a change in the reward-system which has become a dysfunction in education; instead of turning a good teacher into a mediocre administrator and saddling an excellent scholar with unwelcome management tasks, a division has to be made in the profession, where academic performance earns its due share of prestige and economic gain within itself while a new profession of academic managers is developed with executives of proven management abilities. If one has doubts as to how such a system would operate, a closer look into the practices of some American universities would prove to be useful.

The evolution of a profession of academic managers may in due course solve problems relating to recruitment in the general management of universities and colleges. A hierarchy of management-oriented academicians, spanning all positions of general and academic management, will ensure a greater measure of co-ordination and co-operation among the different levels of institutional management. One can envisage a system where a young academician, who chooses management functions in his department of study in preference to research, gains the experience and competence to be the Registrar or Secretary and finally the head of the university or the college. Such a scheme of promotion within a unified profession appears, to our mind, to be an important innovation. It will eventually result in the evolution of a development generalist for institutional management with a stronger academic background than that of the educational executives in the system management.

III. Planning technicians

In our scheme for a profession of educational management, we have recognized the importance of the planning technician not only at the highest level of policy-making but at every level in both system management and institutional management. We have thus indicated a gradation in both specialization and level of performance among planning technicians. At the institutional level of system management, we may not meet planning technicians *per se*, first, as they would have no full-time work and, second, as no educational system has the resources to provide such a specialist to all schools. Here, the technical aspects of planning may be performed by either a teacher or a clerical officer of the institution. Similarly, at the operation-supervisory level, the allocation of a separate planning technician on a full-time basis will be governed by the size of the area covered. But at the policy-making and executive levels as well as in institutional management, the need for a full-time 'back-room boy' to service the decision-making machinery cannot be overemphasized. We have thus two kinds of planning technicians:

(a) teachers, clerical officers, inspectors or other officers functioning on a part-time basis; and

(b) full-time specialists in planning.

Their recruitment and training have no doubt to be different.

It will be appropriate to examine whether a hierarchy of planning technicians in education is feasible. Although the large number of part-time planning technicians at the lower levels will give the impression of a professional pyramid, we fail to see a possible relationship among the levels, primarily because the techniques vary from level to level and the higher levels call for a degree of sophistication and technological perfection which cannot be mastered merely by experience. The full-time specialist has to be one specifically recruited and trained for his functions at the over-all national level.

What should the academic background of a planning technician in education be? With the intimate connexion which the concept of planning has with economic development, the tendency has been to prefer economists. They have also shown a greater awareness of development problems, particularly in the allocation and utilization of resources, and taken to demographical and statistical aspects of their work with greater facility. Besides, their counterparts in the central planning organization being themselves economists, they tend to speak the same language and thereby establish more easily and effectively the liaison which should exist among them. In all these respects, the economists have a marked advantage over educationalists, even though one would expect the latter to be more competent in the identification of educational problems. Here is a question of making a hard choice between required and desirable capabilities. The planning technician has to:

(a) be the interpreter of the implications of the macro-economic plan in the field of education;

(b) analyse the national manpower projections for purposes of relating them to educational output; and

(c) be responsible for the mathematical formulation of the plan with the requisite degree of internal and external consistency.

An educationalist without a sound background in economics will find such functions to be outside his sphere of competence, even though he has one of the most desirable qualifications, namely, the first-hand knowledge of the child in relation to the educational process and of the impact of education on emotional, social and intellectual well-being of both individuals and society. While there is no doubt that an educationalist with an adequate grounding in economics, mathematics and statistics would function competently as a planning technician, it has to be emphasized that a person with a sound academic foundations in these subjects would perform more satisfactorily, for what he lacks in educational know-how is amply compensated for by the policy-orienting organization of educational specialists and lay men, which directs his function of plan formulation.

The training of an educational planning technician has to take him to other disciplines than those relating to economics. The 'variables', which he helps to manipulate for the purpose ensuring the best dividends on the investment made in education, call for a fair understanding of behavioural sciences besides a good grasp of the process of education itself. It is extremely important that he appreciates the non-economic objectives of education and develops a catholicity of thinking which would enable him to see the validity and relevance of opinions expressed by teachers, parents and pupils. A basic knowledge of educational management will be a sine que non, for a planning technician with no knowledge of the intricacies of a school time-table or the ramifications of a curriculum or the procedural, personnel and other operational barriers bugging school administration will be more a nuisance than a help to the planned development of education.

A country needs only a handful of such planning technicians and they have to be hand-picked and trained on an ad hoc basis using both the national resources and the international opportunities which have been spectacularly increasing during the last decade.

It is for the training of the numerous part-time planning technicians that a wider programme is necessary. In our plea that every educational executive should be trained to be a development generalist, we did emphasize the need to acquaint them with the basic principles and techniques of planning. Those among them who will actually handle planning operations have to receive, either on a pre-service or in-service basis, a further training in the mathematical and statistical skills in addition to a grounding in the fundamentals of economics, cost-analysis, manpower projections and techniques of plan elaboration. A wide distribution of persons with such a training in various levels of an educational system will have a salutory effect. It will remove the esoterism or the mystique which is, at present, associated with planning and impress upon all concerned that planning is nothing but a rational utilization of commonsense and forethought. It will also convince the educational executive that planning is not only an intrinsic part of administration but also indispensable to good management.

C. Conclusion

The foregoing study, which was primarily undertaken for the twofold purpose of:

(a) understanding the functional relationship between educational administration and planning; and

(b) finding out the major factors which stand in the way of effective implementation of educational plans,

led us to the examination of a large number of issues and problems confronting educational administrators and planners as well as governments. The multiplicity of problems, made more confusing by the inexhaustible array of solutions offered and attempted all over the world, has made this study both absorbing and frustrating. To concede that problems of educational development are far too numerous and complicated to be solved with any degree of satisfaction would, no doubt, be a defeatist attitude. But that is exactly the position in which one finds one's self, when the magnitude and the diversity of the task is fully comprehended. The more we delve into the present position of educational administration in different countries and analyse the solutions each has contemplated, tried out and rejected, the more we are convinced of the urgency to share our experiences for the purpose of learning something from one another's failures even much more than from one another's achievements.

To say that educational administration has received very little attention in circles, that matter, is, in itself, an understatement, despite the volume of research and study which have been and are being conducted particularly in the U.S.A. It has to be admitted that few actual practitioners in the field of educational administration have found it possible to scrutinize their own attitudes, work-habits, procedures and methods with the objective of suggesting changes and reforms. The literature on the subject, therefore, is, for the most part, the product of casual and remote observation, theoretical generalization and semi-informed speculation. While the value of even such a literature is not to be decried, the need to give educational administration a greater degree of attention and thought and to involve practicing administrators of different levels in a phenomenological analysis of their attitudes and functions, problems and constraints, achievements and frustrations is both vital and urgent. More information on the actual process of educational administration, as seen from within (rather than the legalistic or formal procedure recorded in laws, manuals and official circulars) should be available before one can confidently begin to diagnose problems and prescribe solutions.

Despite these inherent difficulties, we have, with the help of observations and findings of a body of scholars who are diligently subscribing to the development of a discipline of comparative educational administration and our own personal experiences in the management of an educational system, attempted a functional analysis of educational administration in three stages, which are best described as IS, OUGHT and HOW. While no value judgment is either possible or tenable in respect of the different approaches adopted by each country to organize, maintain and promote its educational system, complications and barriers caused by tradition and convention and certain specific historical circumstances have to be noted, because positive steps in the direction of development should include their elimination.

Few nations, it was revealed, can be complacent about their present situation in educational administration. The machinery, in practically every place, was found to be both inadequate and out-of-date to cope either with current problems or with the momentum created by a conscious effort towards planned development. Nothing highlights the shortcomings of an administrative organization as a challenge to speedier action and wider and deeper involvement. And this is what is demanded by educational planning.

Delays and difficulties experienced in implementing educational plans have brought to light two major deficiencies in educational administration as it exists in most countries:

(i) educational administration lacks a built-in self-evaluating and self-renewing system which would have ensured its involvement in the planning process by asserting its right to decide its own destinies, even if another authority was actually handling planning; and

(ii) the cult of efficiency which elsewhere sets the tone for administrative perfection has been replaced, in respect of educational administration, by a worship of the old and the traditional, as characterized by its slowness, if not reluctance, to adapt to changing conditions.

But neither of these can be any longer tolerated, first, because the role of education in the over-all economic and social development and modernization of a country makes educational administrator a responsible partner in the tasks of nation-building and, second, because his clientele, which has fortunately emerged from slumberland, is, most vociferously and impatiently, demanding prompt and meaningful action.

We, thus, find educational administration entering a new era when readjustment and adaptation to new situations is proving to be an essential element in its struggle for survival. The psychological atmosphere, in which the educational administrator finds himself today due (a) to pressures from political and social organizations as well as from the clientele itself and (b) threats of extinction, hinted by the invasion of his domain by economists and technocrats, is, in itself, conducive to reform and improvement.

It is with the conviction of the timeliness of change that the OUGHT-facet of our study was approached. Beginning with changes as we saw desirable in the planning process itself, we have attempted to spot the major areas of trouble and inconvenience and suggest ways and means of eliminating them or minimizing their adverse effects.

It is clear that problems of planning and administration can, in no way, be differentiated and any major reform has to embrace both areas. Educational planning, due partly to the newness of the discipline and partly to its origins within the ranks of economists, leaves much to be desired and a change in attitudes and approaches to planning has to accompany any reforms in educational administration. Not only is the administrative organization for planning a matter of great importance but also the factors which are to be reckoned as 'variables' to bring about the desired results in quantitative expansion and qualitative improvement, need more specific and detailed consideration.

But the most important of them all is the manner in which educational administration can involve the wide range of interested parties in the process of formulating educational policy. It is not easy to reduce the vague and hazy concept of 'participation' into administrative terms which are widely understood and can, therefore, be implemented. But it has to be done, perhaps before anything else is undertaken by way of administrative reform. Delays and compromises, besides an automatic proliferation of further bureaucratic units, are the price of both 'participation' and planning from the 'grass-roots level'. So the results by way of (a) community support to implementation, (b) elimination bureaucratic tinkering and (c) creation of an atmosphere of trust and partnership between the administrator and his clientele have to be worth the price. To ensure that a more efficient and effective administration has to be given to education.

From this point of view we traced the major operational barriers which interfered with efficiency and effectiveness. While the very identification of barriers should suggest ways and means of their removal, many of them appeared to be beyond a quick remedy. The self-perpetuating system, we have observed in most countries, thrives on operational complexities which it has created for itself because they give it a feeling of security that the feverish activity entailed by them ensures its indispensability. The personnel problem, therefore, looms the largest and, along with it, goes the political constraint which affects particularly the newer nations of the developing world. Educational administration is in dire need of a different kind of individual; the skills demanded of him are different from those in supply today; and the new attitude he is called upon to take requires a greater degree of flexibility and intellectual leadership than most present-day administrators display. Even the question of political parochialism and expediency throws greater responsibility on the administrator, who, as an impartial servant of the public, is rightly expected to serve as a check and a corrective to political excesses. We see in the removal of operational barriers (such as antiquated laws and procedures, material and methodological obsolescence and informational inadequacies) only a partial solution. All these would help to streamline educational administration only to the degree that administrators are capable of using the new facilities for effective functioning. The reorientation of the personnel to their wider and more urgent responsibilities is positively the most efficacious solution.

We have noted with interest the frequency with which the term 'management' has been mentioned in both literature and international parleys as a solution for all ills in educational administration. One could hardly escape the feeling that a panacea of infallible efficacy has been found. Making due allowance for verbal mysticism, which goes with new-fangled terms in social and allied sciences, we had to digress into an examination of the concept of 'management' as an improvement on that of 'administration'. While conceding that there is nothing particularly important in differentiating the two terms, one has to accept that the wider functional implications which are being gradually associated with the term 'management' have a relevance in providing for an improved mechanism to plan, organize, direct and control education.

In the light of the data, we could examine, the only way in which we are able to answer the vital question of HOW the IS-situation can be transformed to the OUGHT-situation is by reiterating the personnel problem as the substratum of all difficulties, complications and disappointments in educational administration. The professionalization of educational administration and the retraining of the educational administrator to function as a 'development generalist' appear to be the principal answers. Hence the attention paid to problems of recruitment, training and professional growth.

The profession of educational management, as we envisage, should consist of two categories which, for convenience of nomenclature, we have called:

(a) system management; and

(b) institutional management.

In our opinion, they would be mutually complementary and, while developing independently to meet their functional objectives, would have opportunities for interaction, cross-fertilization and co-operation.

Education being one of the most rapidly expanding labour-intensive industries, a need exists to concentrate on the development of a strong management force to guide it. The recognition of its ramifications and the identification of the different kinds of skills and training required for each type of function are extremely important. Once there is a clear-cut idea of these requirements, the task of forming such a management force will only be a question of time. Of course, four steps have to be undertaken for that purpose, namely:

(a) changes in recruitment and promotion policies;
(b) a talent scout both within and without the educational administration for men of ability;
(c) 'weeding out' of unqualified and inefficient persons either through retirement or transfer to positions involving less important routine functions; and
(d) a serious and sustained effort to provide as much pre-service training to as many officers as possible.

The expenditure incurred on these steps will be a timely investment for its dividends are bound to be immense.

Structural changes in the administrative organization are, no doubt, very important to remove bottlenecks and to ensure a quicker disposal of business. But mere changes in the organogram of an educational system can bring only limited benefits unless the personnel to function in the modified organization are of the quality and mental outlook to appreciate and fulfil the desired role. There can be no question as to which of them is more important; but there is a question as to which of them should come first. To our mind, the training or the orientation of personnel to function more effectively in a new role should precede the organizational creation of that role.

While the entire educational administrative structure is in immediate need of an overhauling, the case of universities and other institutions of higher education appears to be more urgent. Chaotic conditions, often reported of them, seem to arise principally from administrative deficiencies, both organizational and personnel (but, perhaps, largely the latter) and their rectification is bound to have a salutary effect on educational development as a whole.

We are wary of the assertion that what is generally called 'modern management techniques' would bring about an immediate improvement in educational administration. It is true that industrial and business enterprises as well as defence and military complexes of certain countries have evolved techniques as well as mechanical and electronic devices which have proved to be singularly efficacious in rationalizing decision-making, minimizing intuitional speculation, co-ordinating resource allocating and utilization and eliminating losses and delays caused by organizational and personnel factors. But before any of these can be imported into educational administration, their relevance, suitability and practicability have to be ascertained in the light of the specific objectives and targets of the educational effort. Studies on how these techniques and devices can be modified and adapted to suit educational administration have, therefore, to precede their introduction. Even when this is done, the personnel in educational administration should be adequately trained and prepared to use them.

It is from this point of view that the need to get senior educational administrators to undertake research into management techniques is emphasized both as a training medium for such officers and as a means of developing the content of training programmes for others. There is no doubt that some, if not all, of the modern management techniques can be adopted for educational purpose while such an exercise will also enable the evolution of new management techniques specifically germain to educational administration. But it is necessary to emphasize that certain methodological or technical improvements in educational administration will not be practicable in a country unless and until such reforms are undertaken for the entire public administration. This comment applies specially to reforms at the policy-making and executive level where all sectoral managements have so much in common.

This study has also brought out the functional indivisibility of educational planning and management. Though the technical aspects of plan formulation call for the services of a technocrat in the person of a planning technician, the major planning function of manipulating the numerous 'variables' in the educational process to ensure the optimum achievement of educational objectives is far too intricately interwoven with the day-to-day functions of management and administration to be separately dealt with anyone but the regular educational executive. If educational planning is to be meaningful, it has to be a conscious and collective effort of all executives of all levels. With the major conceptual change that has taken place as a result of widespread efforts in educational planning, the involvement of not only all executives but also teachers, parents and pupils is being strongly urged as an essential pre-requisite for sound planning and an indispensable condition for plan implementation.

With the participation of the entire society in the process of planning educational development, the functions and responsibilities of management have grown in both importance and complexity. A managerial organization, which responds more efficiently to demands of development, is among the most urgent conditions for educational progress. It is, therefore, abundantly clear that the emphasis which was laid on educational planning during the First Development Decade of the United Nations should, during the Second Development Decade, be shifted to educational management.